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27 June 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1553

EAST

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S STROUGAL TOAST AT BULGARIAN DINNER

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 78 p 7 AU

[Report "From Comrade L. Strougal's Toast" at the festive dinner at the Lozenec residence on Sofia on 5 June]

[Text] First of all, I would like to convey to all those present on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, the delegation and on my own behalf thanks for being invited to your beautiful country. At the same time I must share with you the joy that our meeting takes place somewhat symbolically shortly after Bulgaria proudly entered the second centennial of its independence in modern history. And finally, accept at the start the comradely greetings from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President.

I was very pleased with the words of recognition and true friendship that Comrade Stanko Todorov addressed to Czechoslovakia, our Communist Party and our people. I am happy to add that our nations' relations with Bulgaria have been characterized by equally deep, fraternal and international feelings since time immemorial. The 1,000 year-long history has provided a large number of examples of Slavic mutuality, cultural cooperation and national solidarity. Our friendship was steeled by the flames of the same battles for national freedom and social reforms. Under the leadership of the communist parties we had been conducting--drawing from identical class sources--the struggle against fascism and for the victory of socialism. The friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty signed by Klement Gottwald and Jiri Dimitrov 30 years ago transformed the glorious Slavic tradition into a happy, socialist present. The words spoken by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and state council chairman, at 15th CPCZ Congress are, therefore, fully valid: "Our 1,000-year long fraternity is enlarged and enriched by the fraternity of our joint communist ideas and by our joint effort to reach the general, overall goal--communism."

Believe me that we are very happy about your successes, which mark the path of fulfilling the demanding tasks set by the Ninth BCP Congress. We appreciate the creative and devoted work by your workers class, farmers

and intelligentsia, who enthusiastically adopted the BCP program to build an advanced socialist society in your country.

Our countries' joint goals determine the content of the rich cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. We do not fail to develop our past traditions. Today there is no sphere in which we cannot find examples of joint work in the interest of both countries and the entire socialist community. The contacts between our state organs and social organizations are fruitful. The number of exchanged students, candidates, scientific and other workers increases yearly.

The recent days of Bulgarian culture in Czechoslovakia have not only demonstrated the richness of your culture and the artistic accomplishment of your creative artists but have also confirmed the broadness of our mutual contacts in a sphere which can do most for familiarization and understanding between nations. It is proper to note that the performance of your artists in our country left a profound impression and it is a challenge for us to prepare with equal solicitude and accomplishment the forthcoming days of Czechoslovak culture in your country.

It is the premiers' task at international deliberations to be primarily concerned with developing economic cooperation. This was not different at today's deliberations, which were devoted to mutual economic relations, not only on this five-year plan, but above all after 1980.

Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria are purposefully bringing about socialist economic integration on the widest possible scale. This means that we are not satisfied with the mere customary trade exchange. Most important today are cooperation and specialization programs in industry but also in research and development, on the bilateral and multilateral base of the CEMA countries. The time has come to start operating on third markets.

We have agreed that despite the achieved successes we will not stop in the middle of the road. The year 1980 should become a landmark in our economic relations. It is up to the responsible economic bodies to work out solutions that will markedly increase the demands on the technical and economic elaboration of joint programs. The purposeful specialization and cooperation must focus on the key economic spheres of both countries. Only thus it will fulfill its purpose.

Our talks will certainly contribute to further developing friendship and cooperation between the nations of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The talks have confirmed the full identity of views on all basic questions of building socialism and of the assessment of the international situation.

We are deeply convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente, first of all in the military sphere, is in the interest of our two countries, which have so many times experienced the sufferings of war. That is why we support the Soviet Union's peace program with all our heart.

It is a program which more and more captures the thoughts of the nations. Therefore, we greet each peaceful initiative that can insure peace in Europe and prevent a nuclear catastrophe. Therefore, we resolutely support the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act because it offers the best solution of relations between countries with different social systems, not only on the old continent but elsewhere in the world as well. Therefore, we follow with greatest attention and hopes the special UN General Assembly disarmament session.

We have agreed that the unity of the countries of the socialist community is the strongest weapon against all enemies of international cooperation, the mainstay of the national liberation processes in the developing countries and the guarantee for a just solution of the conflicts in the Middle East and in Africa. Our countries will also do their best to always and everywhere meet their international obligations.

Before concluding, I would like to state that our deliberations were not only useful, but fruitful, not only friendly, but fraternal and not only topical, but of a long-range nature. It has been confirmed that the bonds of our mutuality are equally strong and getting even stronger day by day as Ivan Vazov, your master of pen and word, predicted in a poem 100 years ago.

CSO: 2400

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOINT HUNGARIAN-CZECHOSLOVAK CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 5, May 78 pp 11-17

[Article by Andras Hamori and Karoly Toth: "Jointly — For People"]

[Text] In the meaning of the existing international agreement between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, a joint civil defense exercise took place between 20-24 March with the civil defense forces of Győr megye in the area of the border areas of Mosonmagyaróvár and the designated Bratislava civil defense forces.

A high level civil defense delegation from the Warsaw Pact arrived in Hungary to view the exercise, and there were also civil defense delegations from Cuba and Mongolia. The Hungarian delegation was led by Karoly Csemi, lieutenant general and state secretary in the Ministry of Defense.

One of the goals of the exercise was, for example, to demonstrate the theoretical and practical elements of cooperation between the two countries. Within the framework of this movement, they wanted to measure the reality of the plans and acquire experiences on the preparation of the staffs and the possibilities for further development of cooperation. The exercise was also designed to answer questions that appeared during the extending of mutual assistance by the nations and the border megyes.

The two nation's various levels of civil defense commands practiced the organization and direction of cooperation tasks under war conditions. The designated civil defense units and subunits demonstrated the practical execution of cooperation. In the assumed situation, after Bratislava had been dealt a blow, the problem was to receive the shelterless and injured population in Győr megye, supply them, and situate them. On CSSR territory, too, the weighing of the solutions to cooperation tasks was realized. Here the work was done by the national staffs of the CSR, the district staffs of Western Slovakia, and the city staffs of Bratislava.

It happened 20 years ago. The spring flood roared down the Danube with elemental fury. The destructive flood did not spare the little community of Heder-
vár. Since then the houses have been rebuilt, and thanks to industrious hands the wounds of the village have been healed. But the memories remain alive.

Because the people who live here do not want to forget. Their consciousness — defying time — has guarded the events with chronicle fidelity. As if all of it were running on a film...In the streets the water was waist high...and on the surface the flood was rolling the remains of the adobe houses that had collapsed...refugees with only their most necessary belongings — some on improvised rafts and some on foot in the water — tried to get to the trucks.. and then Mosonmagyaróvár, the houses of which served temporarily as the homes of those who had fled. A bit of warmth was also mixed in the bitterness which only those feel who have lost their homes. Its fire was nurtured by human unity and readiness to help. It is a powerful force, the importance of which the people of Hedervár need not be persuaded.

Let the Presentation Begin

Spring 1978. The streets of Hedervár, which counts 1,300 souls, were empty. The closed shutters and the drawn windows presented a curious contrast in the shining sun. The barking of dogs did not disturb the silence, the usual hum of a village weekday was taken over by complete peace.

The one time castle, which is today a general school, flies a Red Cross flag. In the classrooms there are beds instead of school benches, and in the teacher's room an operating table. Instead of school children, there are white-gowned nurses, and instead of teachers there are doctors. Study is in recess. The building has been transformed into an emergency hospital. For one day...

A park girds the castle in a semicircle. Tents are pitched at the foot of huge trees. Medical aid stations. With bandages, anti-shock treatment. In the clearing on the other side of the park, more tents. Each one has a different purpose. They are equipped to decontaminate persons, materials and clothing.

In the village, the castle, the park — sheer expectation. The preparations are complete. Let the "presentation" begin, that is, the Hungarian-Czechoslovak joint civil defense exercise.

A Living Assembly Line

The refugees are arriving in the park in clusters. They had been compelled to leave their ruined homes in a quarter of Bratislava, the Slovak capital, because of an assumed blow by the enemy and seek temporary refuge on Hungarian soil. Of course, the wounded had to be taken care of first. The health affairs workers, who "represent" the Mosonmagyaróvár Metal Fitting Factory carry them to the medical aid stations on stretchers. The doctors and nurses of the clinic take over the relay baton from the blue helmets. They separate the patients on basis of a bilingual diagnosis pinned on the clothing of the injured. There is not time for meditation; fast, expert handling will save lives. Within seconds, as it were, there are splints on broken legs, tourniquets on bleeding extremities. Without let, the patients keep arriving. The whole thing reminds one of some kind of a living assembly line...

Meanwhile, the severely injured are on their way to the emergency hospital, where 6 doctors from the megye hospital and almost 50 nurses await them, ready for expert intervention. They are not condemned to inactivity. The "replacements" come in a steady flow although the health troops need to make quite a long trip with their heavy burdens from the medical aid station to the emergency hospital. Moreover they have to be careful, for they are carrying "severely injured" cases...

Smoothly Working Staff

The refugees who do not need attention are escorted first to the decontamination tents. The special service of the Gyor Graboplast rbv [Radiological, Biological and Chemical Defense] concern themselves with their physical soundness and the decontamination of clothes and belongings exposed to radiation. It is evident from the activity of the outfit that they are used to working together. They played this role also in the Szolnok jubilee exercise. Jozsef Jolczinger has been a member of the rbv special service for 2½ years. He mentions the experiences in the main trial preceding the exercise: 2 weeks ago in setting up the personal, material and vehicle decontamination unit it took a half hour longer than now in a "living" situation. In a word, it was worth the effort and sacrifice of a Sunday. Of course, we cannot forget that there were important activities preceding the trial also. But we regard such experiences important not only from the skill point of view. They are also beneficial to the factory collective.

Vacuum Machine and Brick Wallpaper

Since 1954, it has not been particularly necessary to stress to the inhabitants of Hedervar the importance of preventive defense. This is true whether it be a flood or an assumed enemy's attack. With the help of the experts, they conscientiously fulfilled the various requirements levied by civil defense. Not only did they "wall in" the windows with brick wall paper, but they also protected the wells and pens with airtight foil against pollution. On some houses they also demonstrated models of hermetically sealed doors. The essence of this was a little hole in the door covered by multi-layered filter materials. By this means the residents could take care of the necessary ventilation, saving themselves from the various kinds of pollutants. There examples of ingenious solutions as where a common vacuum machine assured the people inside a steady change of air. Of course, Hedervar could not do without one of the most important objects of defense, the underground shelter. By way of two descents, 25 persons could find refuge here.

The residents of the houses on Harsfa street who represented the defense against radioactive fallout were well prepared to receive the refugees from Czechoslovakia.

New Residents in the Old People's Home

Harsfa street number 20. Green fence, a garden, a tidy house. It is the home of Sandor Burucs and his wife. The ample three-room house with bath was built



a year after the flood. Now for several fleeting hours it is serving as the home of six young, middle-school pupils from Bratislava, Frantisek, Dusan, and the others. Mrs Burucs takes one pot after the other from the stove, she obviously wants to please the boys. This is more than Hungarian hospitality now. She regards it as a matter of course that whether it is a civil defense exercise, war or flood, only a sense of responsibility for one another can bring balm to the wounds. And in this, even language difficulties do not represent obstacles.

New "residents" also moved into the Day Home for the Elderly. And in fact, two classes of middle-school pupils from Bratislava. It was not necessary for Mrs Bela Dobos, who has been managing the home for 10 years, to use sign language to make herself understood. The "shelterless" from the Petrzalkai district were represented by the pupils of the local Hungarian school. Under

the leadership of the headmaster, Florian Laszlo, those students were given the privilege of running down to Hedervar who had made the best grades in the "pertinent" subjects, that is, they had prepared themselves the best in home defense and civil defense studies. Elvira Esztergalyos and Klari Dolak added for the sake of emphasis: "Don't think this is some kind of secondary subject here! In addition to an hour a week, we regularly take part in the different home defense tours and other movements also."

This is not the first time for any of them in Hungary. In fact! They maintain active "diplomatic" ties with the students at the Godollo general school, and exchange visits in the summer and winter vacations are on the calendar.

Since we are speaking of 10-year-olds, we cannot expect them to spend several hours of shut-in inactivity in silence. Fortunately, the tape recorder was not lacking from the equipment of the home. And the director put beverages out along with up-to-date daily and weekly newspapers.

The sun was setting when the first phase of the exercise came to an end. Hedervar slowly resumes the usual order of its weekday life. The foil disappears from the windows and the wells, here and there a dog barks, and the residents begin to appear on the street. Words of farewell are heard: Viszontlatasra! Naszhledano!

Toward Bratislava

The "operation" is in full swing in Hedervar. But in addition to the special work of the OSH [medical aid stations] the execution of other tasks has begun at the receiving and decontamination station. I could say that to realize the pertinent points of the cooperation agreement the mobilized units are making preparations. But I think it is more accurate to say that the Gyor megye units embodying now the Hungarian civil defense forces are preparing to fulfill their internationalist tasks. Indeed, for the units which have drawn up on the borders of the village — 29 work engines, one OSH, a complex technical company — are setting out to relieve Bratislava after the review and greeting by Karoly Csemi, lieutenant general and state secretary of the Ministry of Defense.

There is a saying — and it is proved by life itself — that troubles, whether caused by war destruction or natural catastrophe, know no national boundaries. This fact, therefore, sets the task for civil defense. This is the thought that is realized in the discipline of the cold, windy morning when the ready unit, oblivious to weariness, awaits the order to proceed — direction Bratislava.

"In tempo" the column approaches Rajka, the border crossing point. On the vehicles, great expectation. Here are the subunits "recruited" from the Biscuit and Wafer Factory, the Gyor city clinic, the Gyor Megye Construction Industry Enterprise, and the fishing and Lebenymiklos AFESZ [General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives] workers. The members of the unit operating the OSH are "pros" for they came from a clinic. The technicians too work on the machines in a given building. The first aid personnel of the Biscuit and Wafer Factory passed their examinations successfully at the Szolnok national







competitions in honor of the 25th anniversary of Hungarian civil defense. They represented the megye in the competition for first aid personnel. The members of the logistics section in AFESZ have produced more complicated masterpieces than what they are now making — it will be bean soup for lunch.

All of them are tested experts who are now proceeding toward Bratislava, and still you can feel "test pressure" in the atmosphere. They know that now they are not only representing the enterprise or the megye, but through their expertise and successful work opinions will be expressed concerning Hungarian civil defense beyond Rajka.

The Stage

Quickly we cross the border. There is no passport inspection. On the basis of coordinated data, the official formalities are quickly over with. The column crosses the border without stopping, as it were.

Instead of the blue-white police cars which are so well known at home, it is the yellow cars of the "neighbors" which make the way for the advance of the Hungarian units arriving in closed ranks. The men look curiously at the land. Then on the narrow road the Slovak health units' personnel bus pulls up beside us. This is the first meeting. Friendly waving of hands on both sides. And then the OSH girls voice the first "expert opinion": the clothes of the Slovak girls are prettier than ours.

No use. Women will be women — fortunately — everywhere. And this observation not only cheers up everyone, but the tension too is dissolved as if by magic.

At the foot of the bridge on the right bank of the Danube there is a huge ruin. On the other side the historical walls of the castle that lived through many storms measure themselves in the mirror of the Danube. Here there are only a few ruined walls, and a half collapsed building bears witness that not long ago people lived here. They used the possibilities presented by rehabilitation to demonstrate some phases of the exercise. Within the near future, a new city with 150,000 inhabitants will be built in this area. Now, however, it serves as the main site for the joint exercise.

The Slovak and Hungarian medical aid stations are set up rapidly side by side. The technicians and the first aid personnel move into the damaged area. The injured are in the cellars, in the ruined buildings on the ground floor and above.

Life in the Ruins

At various points of the sea of ruins, huge columns of fire arise. The fire-fighter units "counterattack" everywhere. They engage in a hard fight with the red flames. Meanwhile, rain begins to fall, to help the men it seems, but this is not so at all. Only high pressure jets of water can fight the flames that are stories high. The slow, penetrating heavy rain puts the fighting forces to a test in everything. But now nobody pays attention to the mud or the bad weather.

In one place, the Slovak units demonstrate with great expertise the various forms of rescue from upper stories. Farther on, they rescue the injured, strapped to stretchers, through small gaps that seem to be no more than a hand wide. The Hungarian subunits carry the injured from the basement of the neighboring building to where they can be given first aid. Then the injured are put on a vehicle that has ingeniously been transformed into an ambulance bus and transferred to where they can quickly be conveyed to the OSH.

Life teems in the ruins that a little while ago appeared lifeless. The many work machines are breaking down the walls, and removing the dangerous concrete slabs that conceal danger. The trucks are loaded with debris for hauling away. The hiss of the fire extinguishers mingles with the rumble of motors. Feverish but orderly work is going on everywhere.

Meanwhile the Hungarian and Slovak units have set up, side by side, the tents serving as medical aid stations. The ambulances begin transporting the injured there.

Disciplined, hard work everywhere in the soaking rain. The mist of a slowly graying evening is split here and there with leaping tongues of flame until finally the last fires die out, reconciling themselves to the will of the fire-fighters who have appeared with such great force.

The last of the injured have also been rescued, the dangerous buildings have demolished, and the trucks have carried away most of the debris. The exercise is over. The units form into columns again to return home as soon as possible.

First, however, they must fulfill another happy obligation. The local Matador factory is expecting the Hungarian unit of several hundred members for supper.

It is late when we return to Hungary again at Rajka. With a good feeling of fatigue, we wave farewell to our Slovak friends. It was worth the trouble. Not only were new friendships born among the ruins and in the common work, but the participants could also see — since inevitably they observed one another's work — that in preparation, readiness to act, and skill we are both proceeding on a good path. And this is reassuring because we can state confidently that this exercise has again shown the sisterly socialist countries can count on one another's help in the most extreme situation, and in the greatest difficulties.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIANS ATTACK FOREIGN HISTORIANS' VIEWS ON DACIANS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, May 78 pp 28-30, 35

[Article by Ion Horatiu Crisan: "The Continuity of the Romanian People in the Carpathian-Danubian Area"]

[Excerpts] It is natural that each people should know its past thoroughly, that it should know who its ancestors were and when and in what circumstances it was born. In most cases, the process of ethnogenesis does not allow itself to be deciphered easily, especially when it is a question of the very remote past when there are few written sources or there is a complete absence of written sources. These sources will be augmented by archeological or numismatic evidence or evidence of some other nature, which must be thoroughly known and corrected interpreted.

Scholars belonging to the respective nation are the first ones called upon to participate in the deciphering of the process of ethnogenesis of a people. Others may be added to this activity on the condition that they know the documents well and, especially, that they are animated by a desire to know history and are not driven by other sentiments which are foreign and hostile to scientific research. An extensive and serious work of gathering together all sources, literary, epigraphic, archeological, numismatic and so forth, is necessary and the researcher is obliged not to deviate from the letter of the documents or from scientific exactingness. The final goal of historical research should be only to find out the truth.

The ethnogenesis of the Romanians began to be a problem in the 18th century when they, on the basis of their seniority and autochthonism in Transylvania, asked for national and social rights. The Romanian people had always been conscious of this unity, which had as a basis its millennial existence in these parts, its continuity, its common civilization and language, which gave it inspiration in numerous struggles waged for the achievement of national and social justice. Unfortunately, there have been and there still are, even today, some so-called historians from abroad

who, under the aegis of "scientific exactingness" and of "getting rid of sentimentality", deny evidence which either they do not know or they distort for purposes other than that of scientific truth.

The Geto-Dacians were the northern branch of the Thracians who belonged to the large family of Indo-Europeans. The name of Getae is used, in particular, by authors who wrote works in the Greek language and it is natural that this name would be mentioned first in the written sources. On the other hand, most of the authors who wrote in the Latin language used the name Dacians. There are numerous ancient literary texts which clearly prove this fact.

In antiquity, and in our days, distinction between ethnic groups was made and is being made, particularly, on the basis of language--a fact which was documented long ago and made known by numerous Romanian and foreign scholars who dealt with this problem, beginning in the last century and continuing to our times.

The sources which we have cited, to which others could be added, clearly show that both the term Getae and the term Dacians represent collective names used by the ancient authors to designate the same people who spoke the same language. Only a total lack of knowledge of the sources and a lack of an even elementary initiation to these problems could lead to the formulation of the opinion that the Getae and the Daciens were two different peoples and there were "possible similarities of language" between them, which did not prevent them from occupying each other's territory, that the "Get Burebista ruled over Dacian territories and Decebal, over Getic territories", thus "coming into contact", and the opinion that in this area, the social stratification was caused only "by the need for defense against conquerors".

Such a crass lack of knowledge seems incredible and out of alleged "exactingness" nothing is left but to serve goals which have nothing in common with the truth and with scientific objectivity "divested of sentimentality". Such an absurdity was necessary, it seems, to prove that between the Getae and the Daciens there never existed any political unity and that of the Gatean society and the Dacian society did not surpass the final stage of the primitive commune, the so-called "military democracy" about which F. Engels spoke. Burebista is said to have achieved a partial union of tribes which lasted only 15 years ("Deceneu with his religious magic influenced the superstitious leaders") and the Dacian leaders supported Decebal when he was attacked by the Romans.

The great expanse of space which Burebista controlled: from the Balkan mountains to the northern Carpathians and from the middle Danube to the western bank of the Black Sea, beginning at Olbia (today Porutino, at the mouth of the Bug) extending to Apollonia (today Sozopol, in Bulgaria), is a reality which is proven by literary, epigraphic, and archeological

sources. The conclusion which imposes itself by necessity is no longer an hypothesis: such a vast territory could not be ruled by the old tribal-type institutions but only through the aid of a superior political organization, a state.

The death of the great king Burebista in 44 BC did not mean the disappearance of one of his major works, namely, the state. It was required for the development of the Dacian-Getic society. Only his large empire, which lasted as long as its creator lived, was dismembered.

From Jordanes (a 6th century writer) we learn that after the death of Burebista, the throne of Dacia was occupied by Deceneu, a great priest and a close collaborator of Burebista. Comosicus, also a great priest and king, succeeded Deceneu. After the death of Comosicus, Coryllus assumed the throne and we are told that he reigned for 40 years. During the era of Domitian, Diurpaneus reigned and he was to yield the throne to Decebal, the last Dacian king.

Recent research shows that, in all probability, Jordanes has not given us a complete list of the Dacian kings who occupied the throne after Burebista but has mentioned only the most important ones. In the sources, mention is made of other kings but we cannot say exactly when they reigned. Archeologically, a perfect continuity has been found in the large complex of fortifications in the Orastie Mountains from the time of Burebista to the beginning of the second century AD. The same continuity is found in the numerous "dave" [Dacian word for settlements] spread over the entire area of Dacia where the richness and extraordinary variety of the materials discovered are evidence of the high level achieved by the Dacian civilization, both materially and intellectually.

Better known is the period between the reigns of the emperors Domitian and Trajan when wars for the conquest of a part of the North Danubian area of Dacia would take place. Now the literary sources give us many details.

This is why it is not a question of "short and unstable unions of Getic or Dacian tribes", as has been maintained. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in October 1977 resolved that there should be a celebration, in 1980, of the 2050th anniversary of the creation of the centralized and independent Dacian state, headed by Burebista, a moment of the greatest importance in the millennial history of our people. No one has maintained that it would be the celebration of the 2050th anniversary of the creation of the centralized Romanian state. However, one can still find so-called historians who maintain that there is a "lack of evidence of the Geto-Dacian origins of the Romanian people". According to them, the 160 Dacian words are not sufficient. They use as an analogy the fact that 250 words of Turkish

origin entered into the Hungarian language before the establishment of the Hungarians in Central Europe and say that one could not state, however, that the Hungarians were of Turkish origin. Such historians forget that, in addition to the 160 Dacian words perpetuated in the Romanian language, there are numerous other undeniable proofs of our uninterrupted millennial continuity in the area in which we live today.

CSO: 2700

BULGARIA

GENERAL URGES MORE DISCIPLINE IN MILITARY TRAINING

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 4, 1978 pp 11-15

[Article by Lt Gen Dincho Velez: "Discipline in the Educational Process"]

[Text] Educational discipline is an indivisible part of military discipline and represents a complex of rules and obligations which guide servicemen in the educational process. Educational discipline includes: engaging the personnel in training, preparation, enforcement, and qualitative and effective conduct of the training. Discipline means the attitude of the servicemen toward the exact fulfillment of their obligations, orders, and stipulations of the regulations and other documents regulating their behavior.

Let us examine some of the elements of the educational discipline.

First. Involvement of personnel in training and study. When too many servicemen are absent from the company, we can conclude that educational discipline in training is poor, in spite of great diligence on the part of those present, the excellent preparation of the commanding officer, and the qualitative and effective work process. The high absenteeism hinders the training of the company, platoons, and crews, and accounting of the collective weapons. In this case, military educational discipline is violated. The servicemen are very seldom absent on their own, but each such case is an act of poor discipline and unruliness. In most cases, deviations from work are based on orders from the respective commanding officers and headquarters, which means that the violator is well known and he should take the responsibility. The senior commanding officer or the headquarters have exceeded their rights and they have to be held responsible. This is equivalent to a plant manager sending somewhere else some of the production workers and as a result the plan is not fulfilled in all or some separate indicators. The servicemen can be excused from training for some other tasks by order of the Minister of National Defense, such as disasters or other special cases. Thus, measures must be taken against the respective discipline violators and their behavior. The absence of the servicemen from their training influences not only their company as a whole, but also each and every soldier, their training, readiness and military

discipline. The educational process creates bad habits in otherwise disciplined servicemen. The car accidents show that a military driver, who happens to be excellent, is more apt to violate the driving code than the not so expert but disciplined one who regularly participates in the educational process.

Our continuous observations show that the servicemen are absent from the educational process most often in the following cases: supplying constructional material -- cement, bricks, lumber and others in order to solve some everyday and other needs. In all cases the "do-gooders" -- managers of enterprises -- use the servicemen's labor for solving their own problems: saving from the "labor force" fund, minimum wages, work in the most difficult sectors, etc., resolving difficulties within the unit unfinished within the time limit, most of the servicemen servicing machinery, working in store rooms, cleaning some districts, etc. This has a negative influence upon those who have not fulfilled their tasks in due time as well as upon those who have been used to do somebody else's work; lastly, absenteeism exists also in some branches that have adopted bureaucratic style of work in that instead of carrying out the educational process they call away from work the officers for consultations or unplanned tasks and thus disrupt the schedule.

Therefore, it is not the commanding officer of the company who diverts the servicemen from the educational process. The question has to be solved by the senior commanding officers by establishing a statutory procedure, by showing personal discipline, and by making the educational process a law for all and mainly for themselves. One must influence not only officially but also morally and ethically the service chiefs as well as the other authorities whose legal obligations are to guarantee the educational process and, in case of war, the combat readiness of the company, and not to turn these statutory situations upside down. They must remember that the companies do not exist for them but just the opposite. Only then will they stop to divert personnel from training and will realize their own responsibility for the quality and effectiveness of the educational process. In the unit of officer Stoyanov the absenteeism of company (battery) commanding officers, platoon leaders, chief mechanics, and drivers reached such dimensions that even after strict measures, some officers, as, for example, Lt Ivanov, left training because of a rumor that they were to be called to headquarters. In other words, absenteeism has become something quite normal, a way of life, for some of the officers. Quite different is the story in the unit of officer Nikolov. There, truancy, even of one serviceman, is noticed by everybody, becomes the subject of serious discussions and tough but just statutory measures, strengthening discipline and educating the servicemen. In other words, the question of the involvement of personnel in the training reflects compliance with the statutory order and discipline in the unit.

The second question that affects educational discipline is training readiness and the qualitative and efficient conduct of training. The training

readiness of every serviceman, soldier, sergeant, or officer, is his statutory obligations. His attitude toward readiness determines also the condition of his personal military discipline and education. For the training readiness of the servicemen are responsible their superiors as well, as they organize and manage it. In fact, their attitude toward this statutory obligation determines their discipline and education. The unit where officer Odrinski was serving had numerous shortcomings in this respect. The servicemen were not preparing themselves for training, and he himself did not organize and check the fulfillment of this important task, which guarantees the high quality and efficiency of the educational process. Therefore, the standard and effectiveness of the training were low, and the set educational goals were not achieved. In other words, both statutory obligations of the commanding officers and of the subordinates were not fulfilled. The low feeling of responsibility of the commanding staff and their subordinates had lowered also their military discipline. When the training readiness is poorly organized and is not supervised by the commanding officers, it is difficult to achieve good results in spite of the desire of the subordinates.

The readiness for training has to be planned as to time, order, and contents for all groups of the unit. One has to set the time period for instruction, for instruction-and-method training, for self-preparation, as well as for tests. The topics are chosen from the weekly schedule, basic and new topics, which will serve as basis for the forthcoming training with the subordinates. One distributes the study-material base and the means for the readiness of the different commanding groups designated for the forthcoming training as well as the methods for its leadership by the commanding officers and other officers of the respective headquarters.

Besides the organization of the training readiness, just as important is its leadership which involves qualified help and control. Therefore, until the end of the day, one must complete as high-quality readiness for the forthcoming training, mainly on the part of the commanding officers of all groups. Some commanding officers are wrong in assuming that the readiness consists only of laying out the training schedule. We think that the most important thing is to understand, to study the contents of the topic, to establish the form of method of training and achieve its fulfillment. This is one part of the readiness. For the commanding officers, however, it is completely insufficient. The second part, the main one in the preparation of the commanding officers for the forthcoming training, is the training for perfect results in the presence of their subordinates. The poor performance of the sergeants and officers deprives them not only of their personal example, but also lowers their judgment on the fulfillment of the different methods and normatives by the trainees, lowers their discipline, and the quality and effectiveness of training. Therefore, the planned, organized, and supervised preparation, especially that of the commanding officers for the forthcoming training, is one of the main premises for achieving a high-quality and effective educational process.

Discipline during the training itself is of great importance for a qualitative and effective fulfillment. Thus, the well-timed beginning and conclusion of training predetermines the efficient use of each school minute for the learning of the material and for acquiring the necessary habits. In some units one does not pay much attention to this matter. It is customary to be ten or more minutes late for training, and the study period to end before the set time. Or, if the training involves 2 hours (100 study minutes), 20 minutes or 20 percent of the productive time are wasted. In this manner the effectiveness of training is reduced by 20 percent. According to us this is a gross violation of the established time and training schedule, it shows lack of discipline as well as poor taste. In addition, some commanding officers and mainly those of the procurement sectors use up the barracks' material-study base lightheartedly, and, if training must take place 15-20 kilometers away, then the roundtrip will take one study hour if by motor vehicles and 3-4 hours if on foot. About 30 percent of study time is lost for a 2-hour training period and even more in case of a 3-hour period, when the unit moves by motor vehicles. When it moves on foot, however, one cannot speak at all about discipline and effectiveness of the educational process. Everyone knows that one should not plan too many training hours clustered together as too much time is lost. The time is strictly set and cannot be squandered. Therefore, the exact use of the regulated time-schedule for each training is an important condition for a high quality and effective conduct of the educational process, for observing the study discipline and the education of the personnel.

The effectiveness and quality of the training depends not only on the preliminary preparation of the training but also on its correct conduct, including the most correct methods and schedule adopted for it.

So far the shortcomings consist in that some commanding officers hold the training in classrooms instead of at the firing grounds or shooting range. Firing training is done in the classroom, special tactical training of scouting and chemical units -- also in class. The training is doomed in advance. Or, in one week time one schedules 7-8 or more different programs in tactical training and conveyor's skills. It is not even necessary to prove the destructiveness of these shortcomings. It is a pity that they take place in the Military Academy.

Another important condition is the educational process to take place at educational areas. This requirement is connected, however, with another question -- the correct designation of the commanding officers to these places. The company officer must choose the place where he could be most effective and supervise the training at best. For example, at target practice he could choose a place close to the checking devices of the training, and in some cases he could choose a place where a difficult educational problem is involved. For example, when tackling the task of shooting at moving objects during strong wind, etc. he could choose to be close to the grenade dischargers. Very important is not only the correct designation of the officers staff but also of the sergeants, including the sergeant-major of the company.

The training should be carried out under strict compliance with the requirements of the regulations, courses, and instructions. One cannot in firing-line training violate the requirements of the combat regulations, and use in driving training only well-established routes. Training should be carried out under heavy physical and psychological burdens. Numerous simplifications and shortcuts have been introduced which lower the quality of the training itself. For example, on the range, the command is: "Prone position; load!" The soldiers aim once and stay prone for 10 minutes; in physical training, 10 or 12 men stand up in front of the equipment for 20 minutes, yet practice only once for 1 or 2 minutes. In tank combat training, somebody yells "Ready" without having checked the parameters.

Therefore, the qualitative and exact fulfillment of the regulation requirements under high tension determines the quality and effectiveness of each training and shape the educational discipline.

The next question is procuring for training all that it requires. For example, the target on the firing range is out of order and yet the company has already arrived for practice. This makes the practice session a failure. A tank platoon (section) starts training: one of the tanks breaks and there is no spare one. The effectiveness and quality of training deteriorates at least 20-30 percent. Overall procurement in training guarantees its quality and effectiveness. It can guarantee the achievement of the educational goal or ruin training completely. The fulfillment of the educational process in the company depends 90 percent not on the company commanders but on the more senior officers and headquarters. Wherever the commanders of the various units and offices obey the respective regulations of the educational process, they create the important premise for high educational discipline.

All of the above shows that educational discipline in the companies depends upon the preparedness and participation of their commanding officers and even more on the role of the higher-echelon commanders.

1010

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BILAK ADDRESSES EAST BOHEMIAN KRAJ PARTY CONFERENCE

Hradec Kralove POCHODEN in Czech 15 May 78

[Report on a speech by Vasil Bilak, presidium member and secretary, CPCZ Central Committee, delivered at the East Bohemian Kraj Party Conference, Hradec Kralove, 13 May 78]

[Text] At the beginning of his address, Comrade Vasil Bilak reminisced about his years as a young man in Hradec Kralove. It was here that he formulated his class consciousness and learned class solidarity from Hradec Kralove workers and in the Red Trade Unions. Comrade Bilak, on behalf of the entire delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, stated: We are glad that we can convey to you, the delegates of the kraj party conference and through you to all working people of East Bohemian Kraj, comradely greetings of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and of Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czechoslovak President.

I use this opportunity to express our gratitude not only to communists but to all working people of your kraj for good work in the implementation of the resolutions of the 15th Party Congress.

The revolutionary heritage of your kraj has a significant place in the history of the workers and revolutionary movement and in the history of the CPCZ. The revolutionary character of the present phase in the life of your kraj does not fall short of the heroic aspects of history. On the contrary, today you are writing, through your conscientious work in the building of a developed socialist society, another revolutionary chapter of the history of our socialist country. This is documented, among other things, by the report which was delivered by Comrade Frantisek Tesar and the subsequent discussion.

Each of us takes pleasure in hearing about the great results achieved by your workers and collective peasants and about the results you have scored in the fields of services, education, health and culture. It is correct that your conference is evaluating both the results achieved and the problems you face in implementing the resolution of the 15th Congress. We

appreciate that you think things over and search for new ways of working more effectively and better. This is shown in the fact that you have correctly understood the resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and pay such attention to them. The problem you face now is to implement the adopted measures.

In the entire world the results of labor in the material sphere are measured by the number of pieces, tons, meters, liters, etc. The statistical data concerning the nationwide results as well as the targets you met are not dead numbers but a reflection of a concrete picture of live and sacrificing work. The 2 years and 3 months of work we are reviewing today is not a long time, but there is enough we can boast about. When, for example, we state that the national income, as the most important indicator of the development of the national economy and the effectiveness of joint work, has grown by 8.6 percent in the past 2 years, we are talking about the equivalent of 33 billion koruny. The overfulfillment of the industrial production plan by 0.3 percent represents extra production worth 2.5 billion koruny. Additional production and nonproduction facilities have been opened. In the past period we produced 19.6 million tons of grain. The social program of the 15th CPCZ Congress is being successfully fulfilled, the income of the people is increasing. The same applies to personal and social consumption. Some 266,000 new apartments were built in the past 2 years. This represents almost 800,000 more contented and happier people. Our socialist republic has a huge economic potential which ranks us among the most advanced industrial countries of the world. Last year we produced in 31 days the equivalent of the entire production of 1948. All this is fully reflected in a high standard of living of our people.

The successes we have achieved are the results of great organizational work by the party, state and economic organs of the entire National Front. We are indebted for that to the sacrificing work of our people. However, these results are also possible because of our affiliation with the worldwide socialist system. Cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries multiplies our strength and security and creates prerequisites for a successful solution even of the most complicated tasks. Only because of close cooperation with the Soviet Union could one of our citizens enter space.

Firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries guarantee our free, independent and happy life.

Nevertheless, it is not the purpose of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee or your conference to eulogize what we have done and to be content with what we have achieved. The successes confirm the correctness of the policy of the 15th CPCZ Congress, the correctness of the path we took. However, we must not think that we have achieved everything we need or that we can lay down our hands and assure one another of how good we are.

The rhythm of life will not stop for a second. We cannot stand still either. Not to develop means to lose. It is for this reason that the CPCZ Central Committee puts so much emphasis on a further mobilization of communists and all working people. Without good work by all party organs, organizations and each and every communist, our forces will be weakened and it will require more work on the part of other organizations and individuals to meet the targets determined by the 15th Congress. We did not join the Communist Party to do less work. We joined the party to be in the forefront of great revolutionary progress. And he who is in the forefront cannot afford to lag behind. Attention to production is our main duty. However, to see only the production aspect and forget to educate a fellow man would constitute a harmful one-sidedness. Socialism differs from all other systems also in the fact that man approaches labor not because he is forced to work but because of his conscientious and creative urge. Man is more than an individual economic unit, he is the creator of a socialist society. Ideological education of communists and mass political work play an important role. With regard to the ever-growing tasks of building a developed socialist society and the fast-changing forms of the class struggle on the international scale, their role will increase even more. A party organ or organization which "does not have time" to work with the people finds itself in the role of a lumberjack who was so busy that he did not have time to sharpen his saw.

Ideological maturity helps to understand complex domestic and international phenomena. We speak, for example, about many shortcomings. It is correct that they be aired also at this conference. However, not because to do so is "fashionable" or because it was done at the CPCZ Central Committee, but because life without problems and shortcomings does not exist. And shortcomings and problems must be solved. We cannot sweep them under the rug or ignore them. Most shortcomings have their origin in the fact that not everybody conscientiously fulfills his duty. We have not yet succeeded in injecting into our blood the awareness that a bad job performed by an individual damages not only the entire society but the individual as well.

We are proud of the successes we have achieved, but there is plenty of mess, slipshod work and various abuses which uselessly make life bitter for many people and cause great social losses.

We stated that national income has grown by 8.8 percent, which represents 33 million koruny, in the past 2 years, but the plan called for an increase of 9.9 percent. To dismiss as unimportant a single percent means, in this case, to dismiss a value of almost 5 billion koruny. We waste material, raw materials and energy. We have adopted an incorrect attitude that only those people are considered good functionaries in the communities, okreses, krajs or plants who are able to "win" for their constituents new investments, instead of believing that good functionaries are those who ably and sufficiently utilize existing capacities. Our small republic has at its disposal basic production funds in the amount of 1.5 billion koruny. Pressure for new investments, however, grows. At the same time, our

ability to utilize shift work has been decreasing since 1962. The present situation is such that in the conversion to 1.5 shifts our industrial sector has some 520,000 vacancies. What reasonable peasant -- JZD chairman -- would ask for the production of new machines if he had not fully utilized the existing ones? Our planners in collective farms are firm. The same, however, cannot be said of their counterparts in the industrial sector.

There is no doubt that investment construction is a field which significantly affects the effectiveness of the utilization of financial and material resources at the present time and the effectiveness of the entire economy in future years. For years we have been fighting against increases in the budgets earmarked for construction projects, but in the last 2 years alone, these budgets grew by 10 billion koruny. This amount could be used for the solution of other needs of our national economy.

While we succeeded in reducing the average deadlines in investment construction by 2 months, these deadlines exceed the planned norms by 50 to 100 percent.

We can note great differences in the consumption of fodder in the production of 1 kilogram of meat. For example, 2 okreses show the consumption of less than 2 kilograms, 7 okreses have a consumption of 3 kilograms, in 34 okreses consumption is over 3 kilograms and in 2 okreses over 4 kilograms. This is either a foolish waste or, in some instances, can perhaps be characterized as theft and cunning.

We are justifiably proud of the golden hands of our people. We are able to manufacture products and build projects which have earned us a good reputation in the entire world. However, we also have plants and workplaces which manufacture products of low quality or technically outdated products. And often we do not know what to do with such shabby output. And the situation in the world is such that he who supplies foreign markets with products whose technical quality is 10 to 20 percent below the average, must accept prices that are up to 50 percent lower.

Costs of claims and losses on products of low quality reach high amounts. When you add to this short deliveries, thefts and damage caused by negligence, then even a man who is not an economist can see how much we waste. At the same time, the effectiveness and quality of work in our country are the subjects of numerous meetings, aktivs and debates. However, this sometimes is done more for show than for real effect. Effectiveness is no empty slogan. It is a long-range program with a specific multifaceted content based on scientific and quality planning, economic utilization of all available material and financial resources, rational organization of labor in each and every sector, improvement of the technology of production and improvement in the quality, and technical and esthetic level of products.

Each plant, each workplace and each worker should have a more concrete vision as to what must be done to improve the effectiveness and quality of production. No innovation, no idea on how to work better and more effectively must be ignored. After all, the results of the work of our technicians, innovators and improvers, the effort of our workers to work economically, all this is a great wealth for our society. This is not the private affair of an individual.

To prevent a practical application of new ideas because of the problems related to them or because of envy that somebody will collect a deserved award for a good idea, means not only to slow down the initiative of the working people but, in its consequences, to cause dangerous harm to the entire society.

Socialism has incomparable advantages over capitalism. There are no unemployed people in it. They do not die because of lack of money for medical treatment. The people under socialism are taken care of from the cradle to the grave, but we must see to it that these great achievements are not impaired or misused. The proverb "mind your own business" does not belong in our dictionary. We must mind everything -- every problem, shortcoming and abuse. We cannot remain indifferent to things. We must tackle and solve everything. Nobody else will do that for us.

Each of us would certainly be able to list additional cases of uneconomical behavior and waste. Some of us may consider 1 percent as a too low figure, but 1 percent in power saving represents half a billion koruny. The reduction of iron waste by 1 percent is an equivalent of 11.5 tons of iron saved. A loss of 1 minute in our national economy amounts to a loss of 3 million koruny. Many insignificant uneconomic actions, involving just koruny or even halere [pennies] or minutes of lost work constitute losses reaching billions. To do something about these losses is not only a responsibility of the CPCZ Central Committee and government. They cannot solve all the problems. To do something about it must be an affair of all of us, especially of people at the base. Each workplace must decide what to do concretely to improve the effectiveness and quality of production, to save materials, raw materials, energy and on transportation, to utilize the basic funds and the work time. If these questions are put on the agenda of party, trade union and Socialist Youth Union meetings, there is no doubt that these meetings will be alive and effective.

New methods of management are being tested in many plants. This is an important thing to which we must pay great attention. The basis for each success was, is and will be a subjective factor, namely, the individual and his responsible work.

We in the party must pay more attention to our work. There must be more responsibility and decisiveness at all levels of management. We must strive for a high level of educational work of party organizations. And, finally, the communists must be able to mobilize all the working people for the solution of key problems, stimulate and develop work initiative and increase the participation of the working people in management.

We say in our country with justification that our people are devoted to socialism. Let us not pretend not to see -- and 10 years are not such a long time in the past -- the fact that there are many people in our midst willing to be deluded and often unable to separate truth from demagoguery.

Our republic belongs among the countries with the highest standard of living in the world. Improvement of this standard of living is the basic goal of our policy. Unfortunately, even here we can see manifestations of one-sidedness. The standard of living cannot be understood in a deformed way. It cannot be measured by the ability of an individual as to what he can get and for what. The standard of living! Under this term I must include life security, the development of the personality and of the entire society, and the care for the living environment. I must also include here the defense of the fatherland, internationalist assistance to the developing countries, etc.

No accidental and unfavorable event should weaken the belief in the correctness of socialism. Do not pretend that there are no such people who praise socialism today but who would lose their socialist consciousness at the moment you ask them to act more frugally or to give up their car or country place. They tend to forget that all the poverty and backwardness still existing in the world are not the fruit of socialism but the result of capitalism and that the fateful legacy of capitalism is being quickly removed in all places which have adopted socialism.

Well-being can be secured by honest work only. All is in our hands. Hence, we must follow a good principle, namely, that "Our life depends on our work."

We must take into consideration the fact that there are still people among us who do not like socialism and who cogitate every day about how they can cause harm to socialism.

They try to disseminate lack of confidence in socialism. But it is still surprising that honest people -- including communists -- believe even such rumors as the talk about a forthcoming monetary reform. Our mass political work should be at least effective enough to persuade our people that no government would adopt a monetary reform unless it needs one to solve the consequences of a total economic disaster. Nothing of this sort exists in our country and there is no danger in this respect. In spite of that, many people believed the nonsense according to which we would have a monetary reform. This attests to an unsatisfactory level of educational work and to the unreadiness of communists to quickly react and explain that such rumors have one purpose, namely, to do harm to the republic.

The CPCZ Central Committee and the government alone cannot deal effectively with all the panic, moods and rumors. When the central organs find out

that such phenomena exist, the avalanche is already started and it is difficult to stop it. Communists are characterized by their great initiative. They need not wait for instructions from above. The 15th Congress issued the basic directives. And these directives are sufficiently clear to make it possible for us to move forward and to react to any myths, regardless of the position we hold.

The 11th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee paid great attention to the cadre policy and questions of criticism and self-criticism. The cadres constitute a great wealth to our party and society because it is through them that party policy is implemented in real life. Increased demands are put especially on leading workers who are responsible for the realization of party policy in plants, collective farms, state farms, schools, the health sector, and national committees. In other words, at all work places. It is very important that the people entrusted with responsibility uncompromisingly defend the interest of the entire society. They must have initiative, must sacrifice and struggle against abuses. They really must be able to offer leadership to those collectives they head.

If a leading worker forgets some of his duties, or shows a haughtiness to his coworkers, he behaves in an uncomradely way. Under such circumstances, it is the duty of the communists and the committee of the basic organization or party organ to openly point out these shortcomings and behavior. It is better to criticize faults and shortcomings in time, than to be forced to adopt more serious remedial measures later.

We all know that it is not easy to criticize or to expect self-criticism. After all, everybody prefers to hear appreciation rather than critical words. While this is understandable and in line with human nature, communists must go further. For them it must be seen as valid that criticism and self-criticism are an indivisible part of the Leninist style of work, a very significant means for strengthening the unity and ability of the party to work, and a means for improving the effectiveness of our entire work.

In those places where the communists are not willing to put up with abuses and where a critical atmosphere exists, they can see to it that in their plant, collective farm, office or party collectives that shortcomings and petty bourgeois survivals, such as bribery, servility and nepotism do not exist. No honest communist, no properly working party functionary, must permit the toleration of overcautiousness, false camaraderie, unprincipled "solidarity," and opportunism in the work of his organization. At the same time, it is necessary to know limits and not to succumb to false radicalism. Appropriate respect must not be confused with servility, attention to matters must not be the result of a bribe; and comradely relation must not be false camaraderie. When we speak about the importance of criticism and self-criticism, we are aware they are sometimes misused by throwing calumnies against honest people. Workers who implement the policy

of the 15th Congress in the most determined way can always expect the backing of the party, but they must not permit anybody to slander or attack our system under the guise of criticism. Under no circumstance must hostile activity under the disguise of criticism be permitted.

We must effectively fight hostile ideas and explain our communist truth. This requires a deep and systematic study of Marxism-Leninism. We have in mind not a simple and spiritless memorizing of various precepts and definitions. We insist on well thought-out and meaningful study. Only in this way can knowledge be transformed into consciousness and thus into an effective weapon in the struggle with hostile ideology, into a conscious approach toward work and the formation of a communist morale.

A deep communist conviction is the greatest value which helps us to overcome each hostile opinion and which enables us to find our own way in the most complicated situations.

Without a high level of political and cultural conviction we could not conduct an effective struggle with the surviving phenomena of bourgeois morality and petty bourgeois manifestations, such as, indifference, selfishness, parasitism, cynicism, and efforts to get more than society offers.

Our ideological-educational work must fully respect the reality which shows that in education we have achieved a high level. This, naturally, puts more demands on the forms and methods of educational work. It is harmful to boast just about statistics and the number of people who took part in various party schools. Similarly, we must put an end to the obfuscation of simple truths by using foreign words and pseudoscientific flourishes. When talking to the people, one must use clear and understandable language. If a speech, article, study, etc, contains realistic ideas, explains the problems and show the ways out, nobody needs to be afraid that their quality will suffer because of clear and understandable phrases. In this is the strength of our propaganda.

Comrades, we are witnessing a world struggle of two social systems and two ideologies.

This great struggle affects the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The greater the successes of the socialist countries and the communist and national liberation movement, the greater is the reaction of world imperialism.

We, the communists, do not hide our goal, namely, the victory of socialism on the entire planet. We must strive for this goal not through armed force but by implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different socialist systems. In this way we want to show the advantage of socialism over capitalism. We are conducting an important struggle for maintaining peace because we are facing the problem of the

very existence of humanity and the basic question of the present time. Moreover, we are firmly convinced that only under the conditions of peace can socialism spread in the world and strengthen.

At this moment, one of the most important tasks is to rouse the world public for a struggle against the production of neutron weapons which are on the minds of the military-industrial complex in the United States, the most aggressive part of American imperialism.

The United States justifies its effort to include the neutron bomb in the NATO arsenal by pointing to Soviet supremacy in conventional weapons and by stating that the Soviet Union is stronger in atomic armament. The United States obviously has quickly forgotten that it was American imperialism which used its atomic bomb for threatening and blackmailing the Soviet Union in the period following World War II. The Soviet Union was forced to produce its own atomic bomb. Today, the United States tries to blackmail the Soviet Union by using the threat of a neutron bomb. If the Soviet Union will be forced to manufacture such a weapon for itself, what will the next step be? Will additional new weapon systems be considered?

From the technological point of view it is not at all difficult for the Soviet Union to manufacture a neutron bomb. In spite of that, Comrade Brezhnev, in his significant address at a Komsomol Congress not long ago, solemnly declared that the Soviet Union would give up the production of the N-bomb if the United States would do likewise. President Carter, however, immediately rejected this serious proposal by Comrade Brezhnev under the pretext that the Soviet Army does not need the neutron weapon because the N-bomb is destined for the European theater. The allies of the United States should think hard about such cynicism. The socialist countries are against unleashing a new round of an uncontrolled arms race not because of fear, but because of the awareness of responsibility toward their own people and the entire human race. The advocates of the N-bomb should be aware that a third world war would not spare their lives either and that such a war, fought with mass-destruction weapons, would end catastrophically for our entire planet. Not even the Americans would be able to hide from the destructive effects of nuclear weapons. The fact that some maniacs want to commit suicide cannot be prevented, but they must not be permitted to commit the murder of entire nations.

Following the debacle of American policy in Vietnam and other parts of the world, American imperialism is again trying to take the initiative, to cover its crimes and dirt in new garb, the so-called struggle for human rights. This is well thought-out demagoguery. American imperialism tries to juxtapose human rights in other words, something the people in the capitalist countries demand for themselves, to the attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism.

Since the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the world has been revolutionized. Marxism-Leninism has penetrated all the continents. The

old order and domination by capital are being destroyed. Revolutionary changes affect the sacrosanct rights of the ruling classes. The reactionary forces which are losing their grip are not ashamed to use any weapons in their struggle against the revolutionary forces. They have tried various methods: conspiracies, counterrevolutions, assassinations and wars, but the victorious progress of the revolution cannot be stopped. The strength of our communist ideas constantly shows in the successes of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The representatives of the imperialist world see that. Hence, they try to build an ideological barrier against our ideas. These efforts determine the content of their campaign concerning so-called human rights. Those who try to expropriate land, factories and banks, violate centuries-old "human rights." Those who suppress or limit the reactionary forces, organizers of diversions and sabotages and the so-called dissidents, suppress "human rights." The reactionaries, enemies of socialism and immoral individuals are presented as heroes and fighters. This is the idea behind the struggle for human rights, but the whole thing is phariseism. Those whose entire system of government is based on force, exploitation, wars, crime and extermination of nations arrogate to themselves the right to speak in defense of human rights.

Let us take a look at what is going on in the Middle East with regard to the Palestinians. Millions of them were expelled from their homes by the Israelis. They live under terrible conditions and the Israeli military constantly terrorize them and, for all practical purposes, conducts genocide against them. Imperialism denies them a right to a small piece of land and a home, but one cannot hear American official propaganda, including the president, crying over the fate of millions of people, women, old men and children. On the other hand, tears are shed and committees are formed for the protection of the so-called dissidents, namely, the people who betrayed their own country and put themselves at the disposal of anti-communist organizations.

Hundreds of thousands of Irishmen are being denied their rights. They are being severely persecuted by the English police and military, but the suppressive apparatus of Great Britain has the nerve to demand so-called human rights for the declass   elements in our country.

The legacy of poverty which we can see in many capitalist countries today, but especially in the developing countries, is a legacy of imperialism. Even President Carter during his visit to Venezuela had to admit that every three out of five children in the developing countries are undernourished and that two-thirds of the population of the developing countries have no access to drinking water. President Carter should ponder over these things and state publicly who caused such a state of affairs.

The United States in its campaign concerning human rights acts toward Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries as if it had a right to interfere in our domestic affairs, but as soon as we, the Soviet Union

or Cuba offer material or other assistance to those African countries which are threatened by imperialist aggression, imperialism immediately starts to cry and accuse us of interfering.

The time when imperialists could impose their will on anybody they wanted has passed. They must accept the fact that the socialist countries will not succumb to blackmail. In Vietnam, first the French, then the Japanese and in the end American imperialism used all the methods of war and crime. In spite of all that they failed to blackmail the Vietnamese people. What naivete can we call the imperialist attempts to blackmail or threaten the Soviet Union and the socialist community?

We must unceasingly uncover the antipeace and inhuman policy of the imperialist countries in order to permit our people to find the proper orientation, to separate the truth from the lie, real human rights from merely formal ones, and to become immune also to the well-planned propagandistic campaigns waged against us. He who asserts that there is no freedom and democratic rights in Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries only repeats the fabrications and lies of the bourgeois propaganda waged against the socialist countries or does not know what these phrases mean. We do not say that everything is ideal. After all, we are still in the phase of building a developed socialist society, but I must stress that no other social system has done so much for the well-being of the human being and that no other socialist system has given, is giving and can give such freedom and democratic rights to the working people as is the case of the countries of real socialism.

Much is being said about objective, truthful information. There is no secret that three or four centers, dominated by big business, decide what will be broadcast and published and what not in a great part of the world. Any lies or misinformation concerning Czechoslovakia, originating with this or that Western news agency, is immediately accepted in France, Great Britain, the United States and other capitalist countries. These practices of bourgeois propaganda were uncovered by V.I. Lenin when he wrote: "When the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers weakens or totters, the bourgeoisie have always used, and will use in the future, the most desperate lies and excuses."

When the imperialists came to the conclusion that their plans for a counterrevolution in the CSSR in 1968 had failed, as early as the spring of 1969 the secret services of NATO discussed at a meeting in Brussels a plan of CIA chief Helms concerning future steps against our socialist system. According to Helms' plan, the bourgeois press was expected to react "vehemently" to every manifestation of antistate activity in Czechoslovakia.

Thus no wonder that there was such a "vehement" reaction to the so-called Charter 77 and that there is such a "vehement" reaction to every silliness that takes place. Bourgeois propaganda makes a sensation and political scandal even from a report that the organizers of a dance event ejected from the dance hall an individual who had caused a disturbance.

Western propaganda has no moral scruples in distorting the facts concerning our economy in order to cast doubts on the fruits of our labor. It states, for example, that bourgeois Czechoslovakia was self-sufficient in the production of grain and in food in general and that communist Czechoslovakia has not yet achieved this goal, but the bourgeois journalists do not say what is hidden behind this comparison. In 1937, when Czechoslovakia enjoyed prosperity, per capita consumption was as follows: 34 kilograms of meat, less than 63 kilograms of flour and 138 eggs. Today, the per capita consumption is 61 kilograms of meat, 82 kilograms of flour, and 300 eggs. Had the consumption of basic food remained at the level of the affluent bourgeois republic, not only would we be self-sufficient but also able to export almost one half of the then existing production of grain, i.e., approximately 5 million tons. You can see the simple truth and the way it is being misused against socialism.

In spite of the most diverse attempts of bourgeois policy, diplomacy and propaganda, and the often repeated threats of force, imperialism is losing one position after another and the ideas of socialism are taking deep roots in other countries of the world. As a response to the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie which tries to prevent the people from finding the only possible and permanent revolutionary solution of the deep crisis of capitalism, the communist parties search for new paths. In changing their tactics and making compromises and in the interest of winning over new allies, they make mistakes. In the ranks of Western European Communists are the isolated cases of renegades who are unable to express their "creative approach" in any other way than by attacking Leninism and retreating from the positions of proletarian internationalism. This is nothing new or creative.

The history of the international communist and workers movement teaches us that revisionism and renegades constantly change their appearance, but their goal is the same: to weaken the influence of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the communist movement. In the past, it was the social democratic party which played the role of destroyer of the unity of the working class movement. Today, the bourgeoisie expects that this role will be played by "Eurocommunism." The bearers of Eurocommunism try to hide their renegade acts by repeating various phrases concerning "socialism in a democracy," but they reveal themselves as the handmaidens of the bourgeoisie. This can be illustrated on the case of Santiago Carillo, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, who in one breath defends the Spanish monarchy and tries to dishonor the countries of real socialism. For our party, for tens of other communist parties, for millions of communists the world over, Leninism is Marxism of the present epoch. Leninism is the most revolutionary and most truthful teaching which constantly develops and offers answers to the complex questions of contemporary development.

Thousands of books and tens of thousands of articles were written by bourgeois authors and revisionists in an effort to refute Leninism. Their efforts were in vain. All they did is covered by dust and Leninism is

still alive. Lenin's works are the most published titles in the world. Leninism affects the minds and hearts of millions of other people on all continents. Leninism is primarily embodied in the existence of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community whose successes offer daily persuasive arguments that socialism is the wave of the future.

The international communist and workers movement has been greatly damaged by the Chinese Communist Party. The content of Chinese policy is the same as it was during the time of Mao Tse-tung. This policy still follows an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist and antipeace line. The Chinese leaders herald the inevitability of war and assure the United States and other Western countries they are ready to join them against their "common enemy," i.e., the socialist community and especially the USSR. Recently, the Chinese diplomats have been turning with a smile to the diplomats of certain socialist countries and suggesting the willingness of China to improve relations with them, but this should be done on the platform of anti-Sovietism. The policy of the new Chinese leadership is dangerous for world peace and for the very interests of the Chinese people.

Progressive mankind appreciates the historical contribution of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The realistical-thinking politicians in any country recognize that it was primarily because of the Soviet Union that a third world war has not broken out and that we have been able to live in peace for one-third of a century. It is fortunate for the present complicated times that the Soviet Union is headed by such a wise and experienced statesman as Comrade L. Brezhnev who himself had experienced the suffering of war and the joys and worries of an ordinary man. And the world is grateful to him for his enormous efforts to secure a joyful and peaceful life for mankind. A recent visit of Comrade Brezhnev to the Federal Republic of Germany also shows that the CPSU and the Soviet government in a principled, tenacious, truthful and persuasive way endeavor to have peace and happiness for every man. This fact cannot be weakened by insidious attacks of the reactionary mass communications media. The historical significance of Comrade Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic was assessed in high terms not only by Chancellor H. Schmidt but also by other realistical-thinking politicians in the West.

A recent visit of Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ and Czechoslovak president, to the FRG was significant for the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, the improvement of the process of relaxation in Europe, and the improvement of neighborly relations. The presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic called the results of this visit a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace, security and cooperation in Europe. The socialist countries and the progressive and national liberation movements have in the CPSU and in the Soviet state a guarantor of a successful march forward.

The path of the CPCZ and our republic is a path of a great friendship and alliance with the Soviet communists and people. In faithful alliance with the Soviet Union we see a guarantee of our happy presence and future.

Comrades, we communists, as good economists, publicly evaluate the results achieved in the past 2 years, determine ways, forms and methods for the mastering of new and still more challenging tasks. We cannot ignore the great difference of the present period from the situation in 1968. Many of us still remember the hysteria which called for action against honest people, we still can recall the dissemination of lies and demagoguery. All this was directed against the very substance of socialism, toward the destruction of its basic values, against our friendship with the Soviet Union. Renegades and traitors presented themselves as the tribunes of the people. Today, in order to find material support in the West, they are openly renouncing socialism. They openly oppose our people and their own country. To vilify one's own country is the end of the road. Such people lose the respect not only of their own countrymen but also of their sponsors.

Ten years is a sufficiently long time to make certain questions more precise and to verify the truth. There are thousands of documents which clearly point to a grand conspiracy of international imperialism against the CSSR. Many people were not even able to register everything that happened at that time. Thousands of meetings took place, there was agitation, people were incited, calls were made to liquidate communists and honest and devoted workers of the party.

Comrade Bilak offered concrete illustrations concerning the efforts of the fighters "for socialism with human face." He pointed out their efforts to organize an ideological disruption and the breakdown of the entire system of socialism.

-- Vaclav Havel, about whom such concern is expressed in the West, signed a resolution on behalf of the Social Democratic Party in June, but as early as February 1968 he held a meeting in his house of 20, at that time important, individuals with a plan to establish an opposition political party whose aim was to reverse socialist progress in Czechoslovakia.

-- Rechyne, who was rebuilding the Social Democratic Party and had already almost 100 okres committees in operation, assured Kriegl that he would not do anything until the purge he expected to take place at the 16th CPCZ Congress. Many of you remember the way in which that congress was organized. And I could go on for hours with other illustrations. And we do not want to mention the very detailed plan for the disruption of the CSSR and its separation from the socialist community, prepared and realized by Western intelligence organizations.

I will mention, however, the name of one individual in this respect. A West German journalist, Anders Rozumowski, was stationed in Czechoslovakia. He often met with certain "fighters for democratic socialism" and as early as 1967 offered advice as to what course to follow in the CSSR. A direct coup seemed very risky. In the end, a third variation was adopted.

I quote from his proposal: "To create conditions necessary for the liquidation of communism by ideological means -- to achieve a deep ideological split and as a result of it to liquidate or at least weaken the CPCZ in order to permit a pluralistic system, separate the country from the USSR, and reintroduce capitalism." And the rightwing opportunists and counter-revolutionary forces followed that prescription to a T.

Many would wish we forget all this, but we will not forget. And we will not forget that the internationalist assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries saved thousands of lives of faithful sons and daughters of the CSSR. We have been tolerant and forgave many, but never must we forget. And even if we wanted to forget, we must return to this experience of ours because hostile propaganda tries to distort the historical truth. A new generation grows up and asks questions. And it is our duty to explain these events in a truthful way in order to teach this new generation and to have it ready never to permit any attempt to subvert the building of socialism and the weakening of our friendship with the Soviet Union to succeed.

At the end of his address, Comrade Bilak emphasized that the main duty for all of us is to implement the directives of the 15th CPCZ Congress, work for the well-being of the people, consistently fulfill the targets and create conditions for the realization of even more daring goals in the development of our socialist fatherland.

He expressed a deep conviction that the East Bohemian Kraj communists will do everything in their power to help, through their work, the fulfillment of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATE EVALUATES BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 15, 14 Apr 78 p 3

[Article by Dr. Ladislav Balcar, member of the Czechoslovak delegation to Belgrade conference]

[Text] It was exactly on International Women's Day, celebrated by the progressive people of the entire world, when the Czechoslovak ambassador, Richard Dvorak, had the privilege to open the 75th plenary meetings of the countries which were signatories of the Helsinki Final Act on Cooperation and Security in Europe. At the start of the final public discussion, in the presence of guests and representatives of world news agencies, he posed a question addressed to all delegations as to whether they agreed with the text of the Final Document of the Belgrade Conference. Deadly silence was an indication of a consent which can be characterized as a common denominator of agreement which at this moment, on the basis of a realistic evaluation of the overall situation and the necessary compromises, all 35 participating countries could accept.

The text of the Final Document was published in the Czechoslovak press on 10 March. Reading the document, the reader certainly can ask a question as to whether this document is an adequate result of a five-month discussion of hundreds of diplomats in Belgrade. Another question can be asked concerning evaluation of the Belgrade conference in the light of this document.

Views and Proposals

It is necessary to admit that these two questions cannot be answered in a simple way. However, it will help to state that the Belgrade meeting fulfilled the basic task specified in the Final Act [of Helsinki], namely, to make possible a thorough exchange of views on both the fulfillment of individual provisions of the Final Act and the tasks determined by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the context of questions related to the improvement of mutual relations, strengthening the security and cooperation in Europe and the development of the process of relaxation of tension in the future. The scope of the exchange of

views on the issues under discussion was demonstrated by the fact that more than a hundred concrete proposals were submitted during the Belgrade meeting. Had all these proposals been accepted, the meeting's final document would be voluminous indeed. When considering this figure it is necessary to keep in mind at least two things, namely, that the precondition for adoption of any proposal was the unanimity of all 35 participating delegations and that a minute objection of a single delegation would veto the proposal; and that not all proposals submitted at the Belgrade meeting demonstrated a spirit of realism and constructive approach. On the contrary, some proposals can be characterized as contrary to the principles so much needed to achieve realistic results and to correspond with the spirit of Helsinki.

Regretfully, it must be stated that certain delegations, especially from the NATO countries and headed by the USA, arrived in Belgrade not only with individual proposals but an overall concept was contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act. This concept could not accept that the Final Act as a whole represents a very carefully balanced document and that the principles it contains are of basic significance and that, consequently, all must be applied equally. In many speeches of Western delegates this point was fully recognized. However, it is characteristic that immediately after such declarations were made these delegates, without hesitation or shame, emphasized individual provisions of the Final Act and, especially, under the guise of defense of human rights and freedom, directly attacked the equilibrium of the Final Act and judged its principles in such way as to show lack of respect for one of the basic principles of this document, namely that each principle must be interpreted in context with all other principles.

Two Trends

The "overlooking" of this principle is no accident. This principle is a basic prerequisite for equilibrium of the provisions of the Final Act, which corresponds to the intentions of the foreign policy of the USA and other NATO countries in their relations with the socialist countries. These intentions are based on two trends which characterize the present international situation.

-- On the one hand, the progress resulting from the ever-improving process of relaxation, and, on the other hand, a trend which is deeply rooted in the NATO countries and which is characterized by efforts of these countries to accelerate armament. Thus it is not an accident that in Belgrade the NATO countries refused in fact to discuss disarmament problems and to accept proposals which in this respect were made by the Soviet Union and other socialist delegations. I have in mind, for example, Soviet proposals concerning agreement among participating countries that none would be first to use nuclear weapons, an agreement concerning the freezing of membership in the military-political blocs and alliances facing one another

in Europe, and a GDR proposal calling for rejection of the production of neutron bombs and nuclear missiles. These and similar proposals, among which we must also include a Soviet proposal concerning the overview of issues of a military relaxation within the framework of special consultations, were rejected by the Western countries with the surprising argument that the Belgrade meeting was not a suitable forum for discussing questions of that nature.

Such argument obviously requires a good dose of cynicism. It defies logic. It is absolutely incomprehensible that a meeting whose agenda dealt with matters of security and cooperation could not deal with questions of disarmament. Does disarmament in Europe have nothing in common with European security? The explanation as to which questions should be discussed at different international forums is, for those who sincerely wish to secure peace, a very weak one indeed.

The USA, the Netherlands and other NATO countries were unwilling to discuss these questions because the forces which determine their foreign policy came to the conclusion that decisive steps in the direction of disarmament would mean a qualitative leap forward in the process of relaxation which, in the end, would narrow even more the space for imperialist maneuvering and limit its efforts to impose its will upon other countries.

Basic Human Right

The attitude of the delegations of these countries headed by the USA at the Belgrade meeting confirmed that they consider psychological war as an inseparable part of the relaxation of tension. This psychological war was conducted under the slogan of the defense of human rights. The USA, which has raised this question into the ranks of its official foreign policy and is insisting that other NATO and Western countries do likewise, engineered a sharp discussion on these questions. However, many Western delegates were certain that such an approach would not help the meeting. Certain delegations, for example the American, however, saw in the Belgrade meeting an instrument suitable for the goals of anticommunist propaganda. All the demagoguery they used could not help the Western delegations create a smokescreen to cover up mass violation of rights and freedoms in the capitalist countries. The most characteristic evidence of such violations is 16 million unemployed, the growing crime rate, terrorist acts and violence, the limitation of women's rights, discrimination against national minorities, discrimination against migrant workers and in the field of education, public service, political and social life, the policy of apartheid and the manifestations of racism.

Similarly, these countries failed to divert attention from the fact that the most zealous advocates of human rights strive, in their own countries, for increased military budgets, increased military arsenals and, last but not least, try to introduce the neutron bomb.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Yuri Vorontsov, could not fail in his concluding speech at the Belgrade meeting to state that "those who introduce into Europe the neutron bomb and search for methods to kill people without causing damage to houses, machines and other material assets speak the most loudly about human rights and the freedom of the individual."

In light of the above facts it is necessary to agree with the words of the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Richard Dvorak, who in his concluding address stated: "The fact that it was not possible to find an agreement concerning a meeting that would try to put a stop to feverish armament must be considered as the most important shortcoming. I must emphasize that the Belgrade meeting should pay much more attention to the most basic right of the individual, namely his right to live in peace and security."

Playing Upon Words

This of course is only one aspect of the problem, albeit the most important one. No less important aspect of the hypocritical attitude of the policy of Western countries in the area of the so-called human rights is the fact that these countries, under the disguise of human rights, claim a right to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. At Belgrade, in the attempts of similar nature, the Western delegations almost to a man appealed to Principle VII [as published] -- the Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States -- which deals with these problems. It was on this occasion that we witnessed a balancing act of the worst kind. We spoke about the balancing act before. Certain delegates totally forgot to evaluate this principle in relation to other principles, and especially ignored Principle VI which deals with noninterference in internal affairs. Certain Western delegations already at the start of the meeting, in order to justify their concept, came up with the idea of dividing the principles into more and less important ones, statical and dynamic ones, etc., in spite of the fact that such an arbitrary division contravenes the letter of the Final Act.

The head of the American delegation, Arthur Goldberg, even introduced a new pseudoscientific theory. According to it the English term for noninterference, namely, "nonintervention," as used in the Final Act in contradistinction to the term "noninterference" -- means noninterference through force and coercion. Thus, according to Goldberg, it does not cover interference through persuasion, in other words, through ideological diversion, demagoguery and anticommunist campaigns and infiltration.

It sufficed to open the Oxford Dictionary to deflate this theory. It also appeared that the whole attempt was a dangerous juggling with terms. Such misuse had already contributed to dangerous conflicts in the past.

The socialist delegations uniformly rejected similar concepts and theories. In light of the letter of the Final Act, such concepts and theories will not hold water. They are directed at those who do not know the text of the Final Act or know it only superficially. The socialist delegations not only pointed to this fact several times but also had enough possibilities and cogent arguments to prove that rights and freedoms in their countries are not only publicly stated but also safeguarded and that, so far as the working people are concerned, the right to work, to free education, to material assistance in old age and illness, and the right to participate in the management and public affairs have become a matter of course.

Positive Contribution

Where can we thus see the assets and significance of the Belgrade meeting?

In the first place in the fact that participants of the meeting quite unambiguously declared that so far as mutual relations are concerned they do not see any other reasonable alternative than development of the process of relaxation of tension.

Further, in the fact that representatives of the participating countries once again declared their support for results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, emphasized its political significance, and reiterated the readiness of their governments to fully realize all provisions of the Final Act unilaterally, bilaterally and multilaterally.

The broad discussion on fulfillment of the Final Act had its significance. It offered a formative picture of the realization of the Act's individual provisions and brought forward stimulating proposals concerning the Act's realization. These proposals can be applied especially in bilateral relations between the participating countries as well on the floor of international organizations.

The fact that the Final Document which was adopted at the Belgrade meeting looks forward is its undisputable asset. In the first place it presupposes in accordance with the Final Act a continuation of the multilateral process which started at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe through follow-up meetings. In this respect the Belgrade meeting witnessed a concrete gain when it was agreed that the next meeting of representatives of the 35 countries would take place in Madrid, starting 11 November 1980.

In addition, between the Belgrade and Madrid meetings there will be four- to six-week meetings of experts to:

-- discuss and elaborate the generally adopted methods of peaceful solution of disputes as a supplement to existing instruments; these meetings will be held in Montreux, starting 31 October 1978;

-- preparation of a scientific forum in Bonn, starting 20 July 1978, with the participation of representatives of UNESCO and the UN European Economic Commission;

-- investigation into the possibilities and means to help realize concrete initiative in the field of mutually advantageous cooperation, covering different economic, scientific and cultural areas. This meeting will be held in Valleta, and representatives of the Mediterranean countries which are not direct participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be invited.

It is necessary to admit that many representatives of the countries taking part at the Belgrade meeting expressed their opinion according to which this meeting deserved a document which would be more specific. Certain delegations, for example the Belgian, Dutch and Irish, expressed deep disillusionment over the fact that this was not the case. No wonder. According to the notion of these and other Western delegations, such a document should include provisions which, under the disguise of human rights, would make it possible to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries. According to their original ideas, such a document should assure the possibility to disturb the balance of the provisions of the Final Act exactly in this direction and to make it possible for changes in other areas without creating corresponding prerequisites in the sphere of the relaxation of tension. These attempts, thanks to the firm attitude of the socialist delegations, ended in total failure.

And this too must be entered as an asset on the balancesheet of the Belgrade meeting. In this respect, the concept with which the capitalist countries came to Belgrade failed. And the same concept has no hope of success in Madrid either. The capitalist countries should draw a proper conclusion from this and learn a lesson from the Belgrade meeting. If we take a look at the conclusions of the Fasel Commission, namely the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe of the American Congress, and of the head of the American delegation at the Belgrade Conference, Arthur Goldberg, then we must regretfully note that these representatives of a country that tries to set the tone not only for its allies but for the entire meeting, have not come to conclusions that would justify optimism. This is seen among other things in Goldberg's appeal to the U.S. Government that the latter continue to check on fulfillment of the Helsinki Agreement by other countries, and in his recommendation to the American Congress, to issue more often various "demarches" concerning the observation of human rights in other countries.

In other words, Goldberg, on the basis of results of the Belgrade meeting, came to a conclusion fully in line with the intentions of Carter's foreign policy. Politicians of his rank, however, should ask themselves a serious question: whether the political course whose inseparable part is psychological warfare will not disturb or undermine the foundations of detente

as well as of a process whose foundations were laid down in Helsinki by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

There is much at stake. Peace, security and understanding among nations are categories which must not be handled frivolously. In order to support them it is necessary to mobilize all progressive forces of the world, to strengthen unity of the socialist countries and to explain and realize the latter's peaceful policy.

1277

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DISSIDENT PETR UHL INTERVIEWED ON MOVEMENT IN CSSR

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 5 Jun 78 p 6 LD

[Interview with Petr Uhl, Czechoslovak Charter 77 Member, by anonymous freelance journalists: "In 1968 a Possibility Was Born--and Also a Deep Fear"--date not given]

[Text] "In 1968 a possibility was born, and also a deep fear."

So says Petr Uhl, active in the Charter 77 movement from the start, engineer, father of two children and previously imprisoned for 4 years for "subversive activity against the republic."

Uhl was a member of a semiunderground leftwing youth organization during the tragic end of the sixties.

Today he has been deprived of his telephone, driving license and military rank. He has been expelled from the profession and dismissed. Several weeks ago he lost his case against the dismissal but appealed. For some time he has been constantly watched.

We meet him in a small apartment where washing hangs above the oven in the hall and the walls are discolored by cooking fumes. The woman living there types Petlice [Padlock Press] editions and binds books. There is a thick pile of paper and carbons in an old typewriter.

Police Watch

Outside in the street, two black Tatra automobiles are idling. The policemen do not accompany him into the apartments which he visits, but wait outside.

Uhl seems calm but efficient, not in the least nervous, yet alert. He speaks quickly and logically.

"Today Czechoslovakia is the country in East Europe where human rights are most suppressed. In 1968 Czechoslovakia was the most advanced country, we

had the most newspapers, and the so-called class criteria for selection for higher education had been abolished, for example."

But during the night of 20 August tanks thundered across the border and the Czech experiment was smashed to smithereens. Personnel from the Russian Embassy pointed the way for the intruders who were to arrest the Czech leaders. The reactionary forces took over in the party leadership. And the purges began.

The following year 150,000 members left the Communist Party, half of them workers.

"Until 1971 all were pursued who might be thought to have the slightest sympathy for reforming communism," Uhl said.

According to the party's own statistics from this time 400,000 members took no part in meetings.

"Compare our situation with that in the GDR. I am thinking of the Biermann case, for example, an opposition right inside the party's Central Committee would be unthinkable here.

"We have the charter, but it is no real opposition, rather an organ for the citizens to try to make the authorities comply with the laws."

Thousand Names

Some 80 percent of the now more than 1,000 signatories are not politically active. They are ordinary citizens, Christians, nonreligious people and young people. Mainly intellectuals to date.

Former party members, many of whom were on the Central Committee or held other high-ranking posts, constitute 10 percent.

Then there are Social Democrats and independent Marxists and so-called Christian Democrats (they have nothing in common with the West European Christian Democrats--here they are to the left).

Some 200-300 of the signatories are members of the so-called underground movement. They have no previous political experience.

"Intellectual freedom is important," Uhl explains. "We must have free research, a free theater and so forth, but for the young people the ban on popular and rock music means a great deal."

[Question] What is Charter 77's situation today?

New Groups Are Formed

[Answer] Charter 77 does not intend to become a more permanent organization. We operate with full respect for the law and the authorities and the powers which signed the Helsinki Agreement.

It would be wrong to claim that Charter 77 is experiencing a crisis. Of course, discussions take place within Charter 77 circles, but they take second place to unity. Perhaps Charter 77 today is a little inadequate. On its periphery and at its center--well, everywhere--new groups are springing up. [Answer ends]

Uhl points to four important things:

1--The committee against the persecution of people on unlawful grounds. This committee has been in existence for several months and intends to cooperate unilaterally with Amnesty International, provide information and so forth.

2--Journals. One of the publications provides information and cuttings from the whole world. (In Czechoslovakia it is possible to buy only certain pro-Moscow foreign newspapers.) There are three or four literary journals, several different organs for political debate and an information bulletin for Charter 77, which also publishes all open letters.

"Pirate Books"

(Uhl does not mention it but of all the books published in the country more than half are typewritten and bound by hand. The so-called Petlice editions and others enable the banned authors to be read.)

3--Parallel universities. This is still mainly an experiment. BRNO has made progress with its three or four educational establishments than Prague where there are six of seven. The 100 or so pupils who attend the courses are in their twenties or thirties and have not been accepted at the official educational establishments because of political discrimination.

4--Independent trade unions. As in Poland and the Soviet Union a debate on an independent trade union movement has begun. This debate will be conducted publicly.

Despite the fact that Uhl has police outside his apartment day and night he can still publish his work in samizdats or in open letters in both the East and West.

[Uhl] It has been a little difficult with the old people who were in the war. They want only to whisper when we meet. They are totally orientated toward underground activity.

[Question] What about the Russian troops' role today?

[Answer] I personally do not believe that the Russian troops' presence is necessary for the regime. The situation has stabilized so much for it. Our country is also tied economically and politically to the Soviet Union.

It is a shame for the Russian privates. For example, they are not allowed to walk alone. When they have leave they have to be in a group. Thus they have to walk in formation to the movies, for example. The troops are subjected to the people's antipathy. They cannot help noticing it.

[Question] What sort of support do you want?

[Answer] International solidarity is extremely significant, and especially important is the support from trade unions in the West, from student organizations and from religious groups. We must have publicity which is detailed and reliable. People must come and visit us in our apartments.

No less important is the support from the East. We have good contacts with the civil rights movement in Poland, but we still have no contact with the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. That is a failing which we must make good.

It is our fault that people do not protest more in Sweden. We have not offered more resistance. But the Finlandization, whose traces can be seen throughout West Europe, worries us...

CSO: 3109

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KRIEDEL CRITICIZES CPCZ IN TAPED SPEECH

Madrid MUNDO OBRERO in Spanish 25-31 May 78 p 24

[Article: "Tribute to Frantisek Kriegel on his 70th birthday 'We yearn for a socialism respectful of freedom,' the indomitable Czech communist declares."]

[Text] This past May 19, in Madrid, upon the initiative of the Spanish Communist Party, tribute was paid to the former President of the Czech National Assembly, Frantisek Kriegel, on his 70th birthday. It was a tribute to him in absentia because Mr Kriegel was denied an exit permit by his country's authorities. It was a repressive decision which, as Mr Manuel Azcarate indicated in his dedicatory remarks, was vigorously protested by Spanish communists, who consider Mr Kriegel a close friend. Kriegel fought on our side in the International Brigades in China, Cuba and Czechoslovakia.

The tribute to Kriegel, as Mr Azcarate emphasized, was also a reaffirmation of the concept of democratic socialism which had been re-established by the Spanish Communist Party at its Ninth Congress. It was this concept which led us, in 1968, to condemn the military intervention which quashed the "Prague Spring" in 1968. The concept of what is now called 'eurocommunism' is deeply rooted in the Czech Communist Party of today, in its ideology and its members.

At the ceremony there were also speeches by Father Rodriguez Huarte and the socialist leader from Madrid, Alonso Puerta, who pointed out that the differences between socialists and communists "should not divide us" inasmuch as we are both committed to the struggle for socialism. Carlos Alvarez read a poem dedicated to comrade Kriegel's life of struggle in the name of communism. On behalf of Mr Kriegel and his comrades, Prof Frantisek Kanouch expressed a few words of gratitude for the ceremony.

Prevented from appearing in Madrid, Comrade Kriegel nonetheless sent a recorded message in Spanish which we reproduce almost intact below.

Frantisek Kriegel's Message

"It is absurd that in Europe, at the end of the 20th century, it is not possible to leave the country for a short time to visit friends, to return home exuberant with ideas and feelings of friendship. What foolishness! And if someone demands this right he is stigmatized as an enemy of mankind.

This leads us to reflect on the contradiction between the assertions made by some and reality as it is experienced by others.

People speak of socialism, of a developed socialist society, of real socialism. And at the same time people do not realize that the full exercise of an individual's rights is somehow lost among these concepts, resulting in the submission of the individual as a citizen to state power and his metamorphosis into an object which state power unequivocally commands, both with respect to his present and to his future. Decisions are made about him, but without him--and often against him. Decisions are made over his future, his family, his country, without his ever being asked his opinion.

It is not surprising that this concept of socialism draws less and less attention, but does attract an increasing number of social climbers, opportunists, and repressive bodies. Stumbling blocks are placed on one's path to inhibit the mind from taking flight and developing, which is beneficial to repressive bodies. The material and spiritual wealth of the nation is impoverished, curbing development potential. This kind of socialism meets with increasing opposition and is losing its former appeal.

We yearn for socialism, socialism coupled with freedom, where a person is a person, an individual with full exercise of his rights, a member of a great creative society and not an object to be manipulated by the uncontrolled levers of power. For this reason we are so grateful to you for having made a pledge to socialism, socialism and freedom, the individual's thirst for respect, his dignity and his rights. We are behind you and we wish you many successes in this extremely difficult endeavor.

A Courageous Spain

When I went to Spain in 1936 I was reaching the climax of one stage of my life. At that time I was a young doctor. I had already participated actively in the revolutionary movement. I left Prague aware of the dangers of war, but full of hope that I would return to my country in the near future. History, ignoring my thoughts, acted as it saw fitting. In my eyes Spain was a different country, with a long, rich history, an ancient civilization (at that time still unknown), a valiant people, and the occasion to meet representatives of many nations who were attracted by the just and courageous struggle of the Spanish people.

I was a living witness to the full significance of the words valor, courage, political awareness, spirit of sacrifice, and I also saw much of the

opposite. I could see part of the game of the great powers overcoming the lesser and weaker powers. Moreover, it was a vast school of political science. As for my field, I gained experience daily in war medicine, organization, improvisation, how to handle emergencies with scarce means. At the end of 1936 I was sent to the front. I saw my first combat in the Fuencarral sector. It was there I heard the first shots, attended the first wounded, and survived the first battle. Afterwards there was Brunete, el Jarama, Guadalajara, Aragon, el Ebro, and many other places, until the bitter moments of February 1939, when, brave in war, yet with tears in our eyes, we laid down our arms at the Franco-Spanish border. We were one of the last units responsible for enabling the civil population and soldiers to pass into France. As is well known, France cheated us. Months were spent in those notorious French concentration camps which gave rise to so much solidarity and evil.

The Fruits of Imperialism

The year 1939 was rich in events for Czechoslovakia and for the rest of the world. At that time we were informed of the appeal of the Comintern and of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to help that country in the struggle against the Japanese attack. Some twenty doctors who had been volunteers in Spain answered the appeal. I was among them. The conditions we lived in and the times themselves were extraordinary. We were in full current of the world war brewing on all continents. I was in a large part of China, India, and Burma. I attended the wounded and sick in the worst of conditions. I saw war's bestiality up close, and I hated war. I became familiar with the fruits of imperialism. I had the opportunity of witnessing a slice of history, the beginning of the decline and fall of the glory which was once the great British Empire, as well as the meteoric rise of the Japanese empire, which claimed the legacy of France, Great Britain, and even the United States, respectively. I had the chance to witness the beginning of its fall and its catastrophe.

History shows clearly that not even the highest trees reach heaven, that they too have a predestined limit, that they too obey the law of Nature and that this can be analogously compared to the history of nations, their life, climax, and fall. The latter is all the more tragic to the extent that the course of history and the needs of the times are not fully familiar and are misunderstood.

In the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia

During the post-war years, after return to Prague, I participated in the reconstruction and building of my country which were stamped with the specific traits of Stalinism in our country during the 1950's. My principal efforts were devoted to specialized, professional training. In the early 60's I went to Cuba for 3 years, as adviser to the minister of health. I participated essentially in the reconstruction and creation of Cuban health services. I witnessed the Giron beach events and the so-called

'judges crisis'. Once my mission in Cuba was over, I undertook a period of great activity. I was a deputy in Parliament, chairman of its Foreign Committee, member of its Presidium. I was a member of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party, and for a short time, in 1968, member of the Central Committee's Presidium.

Knowledge of the need for basic changes in the structure and working methods of the Party, as well as State and economic administration, relinquishment of demoded and bureaucratic practices, interest in the broad participation of the population in state management and participation of the workers in the development and management of the economy led to the inevitable proposals for change. Efforts were also made to broaden public and individual freedom of thought and creativity as a premise for overcoming stagnation. And then the famous events of the late sixties and early seventies occurred.

Dear Comrades, I feel it a pleasant obligation to recall and praise the principle adopted by the Spanish Communist Party during those times. Perhaps I should not have gone into so many details. But, somehow, in all stages of my activities I have always been reminded of my experience in Spain. It is a professional, human, or even linguistic reminder, as in Cuba. With undying interest I have followed events in Spain for decades, and, over the past years I have observed the highly important development of Spanish Communist Party theory.

"You are part of my life"

Dear Comrades, in this way your beautiful country, its people, and to a large extent you, yourselves, directly or indirectly, have become part of my life. I am grateful to you for many things, especially for this tribute. I am aware that its significance goes beyond that of a mere display of courtesy. I do not know how much longer my health will allow me to follow Spanish events closely. Let me wish you, and myself, the fortune, good health, strength, and joy of making all our very humane dreams a reality."

PHOTO CAPTION

"The former President of the Czech National Assembly, Kriegel, subject of continuous surveillance in his own country."

9189

CSO: 3110

CPSL DAILY COMMENTS ON CHINESE EXODUS FROM VIETNAM

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jun 78 p 7 AU

[Commentary by Julius P. Lorinca in the column: "A Word on Events":
"What Peking Wants"]

[Text] The official Chinese propaganda does not stop its campaign of attacks and slanders, according to which the population of Chinese nationality in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is being persecuted and being ousted. Whoever knows Vietnam, be it only a little, and follows the development in this country will immediately understand that this is a nonsensical assertion which absolutely lacks any logic. As if the Vietnamese people, who are solving the complicated problems of postwar reconstruction and further development of building socialism, had nothing else to do at this moment than to expel 1.5 million Chinese.

The Peking leadership is exerting unheard of pressure on these Chinese, which cannot be characterized other than as gross interference in the internal affairs of another country. The Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, for instance, is distributing application forms for leaving Vietnam and is threatening the Chinese (most of them have dual citizenship--Vietnamese and Chinese) that they will be considered traitors if they do not "return home." The great majority of the Chinese living in Vietnam reject this campaign but there are also those who have succumbed to it. Most willing among them were the representatives of the relatively strong bourgeois stratum in the south of the country who, naturally, did not evade the nationalizing measures and the process of socialist reforms. It is interesting and characteristic that Peking stands up precisely for these bourgeois circles, despite its assertions about itself that it is the world's revolutionary vanguard. The "socialist" leadership in Peking has already demonstrated more than once that it uses the Chinese bourgeoisie in Asia as a "fifth column" to assert its hegemonistic plans in Asia. Peking is not, in fact, interested in the fate of the Chinese masses in Vietnam because it knows, after all, that these citizens enjoy the same rights as all other Vietnamese working people and are also given the opportunity of national self-realization.

What is it then that Peking really wants? It is worth noting that the anti-Vietnam campaign is taking place at the same time as Cambodia's repeated provocations on the Vietnamese borders, to which the Cambodian regime is encouraged by Peking, including encouragement in form of weapons. In their attempts to subordinate Asia to the monopolist Chinese influence the people in the Peking leadership are simply disturbed by the Vietnam's growing international prestige and by its development on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. They have, therefore, decided--as the Hanoi Nhan Dan wrote--to cause this country "difficulties of various types, to weaken the positions of socialism in Vietnam and to undermine its international influence." The latest official statement by the Chinese Vice Premier Teng-Hsiao-P'ing that China has limited its economic assistance to Vietnam and its cooperation with this country merely confirmed this.

If the Peking leadership was really concerned with solving the--according to them existing--problem of the life of the Chinese in Vietnam, they would probably already have accepted the offer by the government to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to negotiate this issue at government level in the spirit of friendship and in the interest of the people of both countries. One could justifiably expect a more constructive approach from Peking, especially after Vietnam's decision to allow the Chinese vessels designated to transport Chinese emigrants to use--after 20 June--selected Vietnamese ports. But instead of that even leading politicians, such as the above-mentioned Teng, are becoming involved in the anti-Vietnam campaign. They do not hesitate to use the most primitive fabrications and lies, attempting even to depreciate the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression in the past few years and the solidarity with this struggle.

CSO: 2400

SOCIALIST ACADEMY OF THE CSSR VIEWS EXPANDED ROLE

Prague DOKUMENTACNI PREHLED in Czech No 18, Apr 78 pp F1-F2

[Article: "The Socialist Academy of the CSSR (At the 25th Anniversary of Its Establishment)]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Academy for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge was founded 25 years ago, on 21 June 1952. The impetus for its founding was provided by the meeting of prominent representatives of Czechoslovak intelligentsia in April 1952. The society, a voluntary organization of the working intelligentsia, became a part of the National Front. It organized popular scientific lectures, discussions, people's universities, people's academies, exhibits, etc. It followed the progressive traditions of the Socialist Academy established in 1935, in which progressive Marxist intelligentsia had joined to spread the scientific world view in lectures and discussion programs.

The Czechoslovak Society for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge operated under that title until October 1965 when its Third Congress decided to resume the name of the Socialist Academy. In connection with the federative system of our state in 1969 the Socialist Academy was organized in the framework of the republics. The Czech Socialist Academy was established in the Czech lands in March 1969 and the Socialist Academy of Slovakia in April 1969 in Slovakia. The Socialist Association for Science, Culture and Politics established in 1971 merged the Czech Socialist Academy and the Left Front (a Marxist-Leninist association) in the Czech lands.

Although both organizations of the republics shared the same political educational mission, each of them operated under a different title. Therefore, having considered all circumstances, at their congresses in May and June 1973 the national organizations adopted the proposal to develop their activity under the joint title of the Socialist Academy of the CSR and the Socialist Academy of the SSR. The structure of the statewide organization was completed by the constituent assembly of the Socialist Academy of the CSSR on 23 and 24 June 1973 in Prague.

Present Tasks

The objective of the Socialist Academy of the CSSR is to participate under the leadership of the CPCZ in spreading and popularizing knowledge of politics, science and culture. The academy is a relevant component of the working people's popular education and out-of-school training. Its basic task in the activity of propaganda, training and education is to help form the attitudes and world view of all social strata on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and to mobilize the working people for a vigorous fulfillment of CPCZ policy.

Propagandistic and popularizing activities of the Socialist Academy of the CSSR involve directly most of all the following tasks: problems of the scientific-technological revolution; problems of the socialist way of life; questions of socialist integration; the laws of the development of a new social order, particularly in terms of the increasingly more important leading role of the working class and its communist party.

The achievements of the Socialist Academy of the CSSR are reflected in the steadily increasing number of the cycles in people's universities and people's academies. Their system is being continuously improved; it is one of the most demanding forms of extracurricular education.

The Socialist Academy of the CSSR is a member of the National Front. It has more than 35,000 members from the ranks of experts in Czechoslovak socialist sciences. In 1976 it organized 24 important seminars for more than 3,500 lecturers and about 250,000 lectures from every area of the Marxist-Leninist world view. This year the activities of the organization will focus on the further improvement of the instruction and in particular, on expanding its activity.

20 April 1977

9004
CSO: 8112/1581

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK COOPERATIVES PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE

Prague DOKUMENTACNI PREHLED in Czech No 48, Nov 77 pp G1-G4

[Article: "The Czechoslovak Cooperative System"]

[Text] The Central Council of Cooperatives (URD) is acting as the supreme organization of the Czechoslovak cooperative system in the sectors of consumer, production and housing cooperatives. (It does not include the unified agricultural cooperatives the development of which is the concern of the Ministry of Agriculture.)

The principle of federalization was implemented in 1968 also in cooperative organizations. Following the ratification of the law on Czechoslovak federation (28 October 1968) consumer, production and housing cooperatives constituted six national cooperative associations:

Czech Association of Consumer Cooperatives (CSSD),

Czech Association of Production Cooperatives (CSVD),

Czech Association of Housing Cooperatives (CSBD),

Slovak Association of Consumer Association (SSSD),

Slovak Association of Production Cooperatives (SSVD),

Slovak Association of Housing Cooperatives (SSBD).

Basic data on Czechoslovak cooperatives (situation as of 31 December 1976):

	CSSR	CSR	SSR
Total No of cooperatives (not including unified agricultural cooperatives)	1449	1145	304
Total No of members of cooperatives (not including the unified agricultural cooperatives)	3,319,493	2,257,619	1,061,874

Consumer Cooperatives

The economic activity of consumer cooperatives as an indivisible part of our economy is based at present on roughly 27,700 stores of various types. These stores cover approximately 36 percent of the sales area in the state and more than 41 percent of the total retail-store network. The other basic sector of its operation includes over 14,600 hotel and restaurant establishments with about 740,000 board capacity and more than 29,500 beds available in cooperative accommodations. The trade network of the Czechoslovak consumer cooperatives earns about one-fourth of the retail turnover generated by all business systems in the CSSR.

Consumer cooperatives also operate their own production, particularly of food products, delicatessen specialties and fancy bakery products. In 1976 consumer cooperatives produced food products in the value of Kcs 764 million.

Moreover, the procurement activities of consumer cooperatives are very extensive. In 1976 consumer cooperatives procured wild berries, honey, eggs, vegetables, fruit and other vegetable and animal products for Kcs 836 million.

In the Sixth Five-Year Plan the retail turnover will increase by 23.2 percent against the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee called for the structure of the supply of industrial products to be improved, especially products for long-term consumption, modern household furnishings and construction materials; the selection of food products to be expanded and the supply of fruits and vegetables increased.

Basic data (situation as of 31 December 1976):

	CSSR	CSR	SSR
No of cooperatives	110	74	36
No of members	2,249,660	1,464,599	785,061
Retail turnover in million Kcs	56,740	37,575	19,165
No of stores	27,708	19,086	8,622
No of public dining establishments	14,623	10,727	3,896
No of beds in lodging establishments	29,516	22,727	6,789

Production Cooperatives

The operation of production cooperatives is very extensive, involving about 250 branches of production and services. Production cooperatives are producing more than 25,000 types of products. From the viewpoint of their organizational structure the production cooperatives consist of:

--industrial cooperatives: metalworking, chemical, woodworking, production of construction materials, textiles, garments, leatherworking, folk art and arts and crafts production, and other industrial operations;

--construction cooperatives: cooperatives for the main and associated construction production, including planning;

--nonindustrial cooperatives: cooperatives of barbers and hairdressers, photographers and other nonindustrial cooperatives.

An independent group consists of cooperatives of disabled persons. Their main task is to provide suitable opportunities for work to citizens with reduced ability to work and with severe health impairment.

Basic data (situation as of 31 December 1976):

	CSSR	CSR	SSR
No of cooperatives	430	322	108
No of members	183,642	135,077	48,565
No of workshops	7,015	5,886	1,129
Receipts from the population (in million Kcs) 1976	3,825.4	3,048.7	776.7
of which: automobile repairs,	501.7	336.2	165.5
custom production	1,092.6	890.7	201.9
Supplies to domestic trade (in million Kcs)	8,811.7	6,184.1	2,627.6
Supplies to foreign trade (in million Kcs) 1976	1,057.5	596.3	461.2

Housing Cooperatives

The current situation and development of the housing cooperatives is linked with the introduction of a new form of cooperative housing construction in 1959. Housing cooperatives are meeting their tasks in economic and social construction, particularly by organizing the construction of housing units, their proper management, operation and maintenance; by their activity in political, cultural and social areas they contribute to the development of social relations.

In the past Five-Year Plan a widespread merger of housing cooperatives took place. While in 1970 there were 3,002 of them, toward the end of 1976 their number declined to 907.

In the CSSR about 10 percent of the population live in cooperative apartments. At present housing cooperatives have over 590,000 apartments valued at about 70 billion Kcs. At the end of 1977 the number of apartments managed by housing cooperatives will be 645,700. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan more than 203,000 apartments will be built in the cooperative way, 18 percent of them by self-help.

Basic data (situation as of 31 December 1976):

	CSSR	CSR	SSR
No of cooperatives	907	747	160
No of members	885,527	657,279	228,248
No of apartments completed in 1976	33,119	22,149	10,970
of which by self help	8,230	7,314	916
Ratio in statewide construction in 1976	25.2	25.9	23.9
Total No of cooperative apartments	557,261	426,987	150,274
Structure of cooperatives			
Housing construction cooperatives	608	507	101
People's apartments	51	41	10
Okres construction projects	97	69	28
Garage construction	36	32	4
Family housing construction	86	69	17
Citizens' mutual aid	29	29	-

18 November 1977

9004

CSO: 8112/1586

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE CSSR IMPROVING

Prague DOKUMENTACNI PREHLED in Czech No 6, Feb 77 pp G1-G4

[Article: "The Position of Women in the CSSR"]

[Text] The social class system of our society has made it possible to raise women's education and their economic, social and cultural involvement. Women's employment increased from 37.8 percent in 1948 to 48 percent in 1975 (preliminary data), i.e., more than 3.5 million economically active women. More than 2.5 million women are employed in industrial areas and more than 1 million women in nonindustrial areas.

Of the total number of teachers in schools in the CSSR (school year 1973-74) 68.9 percent were women (nursery schools employ 100 percent women). In institutes of higher learning women make up one-fourth of all faculties. In health services women are represented by 77 percent, in the medical profession by 44 percent, in the pharmaceutical profession by 64.5 percent.

Of the total number of students in schools of general education 60 percent are females, in trade and secondary schools 55 percent, and in institutes of higher learning approximately 40 percent. In technological institutes of higher learning 8,014 women were registered in the academic year 1975-76 for the regular course of study, in academic branches 31,933 women.

The ratio of women with academic degrees in scientific research is 13.9 percent of the total number of scientists and researchers, of which in the field of

natural science	17.2 percent
technical sciences and studies	4.7 percent
agricultural-forestry and veterinary science	22.6 percent
social sciences and studies	21.4 percent
medical sciences	22.6 percent
art sciences	31.0 percent

The representation of women in trade union organs is approaching the percentage of women organized in trade unions; in plant committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in 1974 it was 44.8 percent.

In the supreme representative organ, the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, women representatives account for almost 30 percent after the last elections in 1976. In the Socialist Youth League women and girls provide 75 percent of all leaders and instructors of Pioneer divisions and 33 percent are heads of basic organizations of the Socialist Youth League.

Important measures taken for the benefit of economically active women: Law on special working conditions for pregnant women and mothers with young children (1962); Law on intensified care for pregnant women and mothers (1964); Law on extended maternity leave, on maternity benefits and allowances for children from health insurance (1968); Announcement by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs concerning maternity benefits and allowances for children of applicants for employment (1968); Laws of the Federal Assembly on maternity allowances (1969 and 1971); Order by the government of the CSSR on increased bonuses at childbirth (1971); Law on increased children's benefits and family allowances (1973).

Protection of working mothers is reflected in measures of a financial nature as well as in several provisions from the area of labor laws, such as: protection of pregnant women from revocation of their working contract during their pregnancy; care for the child up to the age of 3 years; exemption from work at night, overtime, business trips, transfer to other places of work, arrangement of the schedule of work.

In addition to direct financial assistance, including a system of children's benefits, measures connected with childbirth and the following period and many others, young married couples receive loans to obtain or furnish apartments, the rate of interest being 1 percent. The term of repayment (up to 10 years) is reduced by the state bonus to which the married couple is entitled when their child is 1 year old. The bonus for the first child amounts to Kcs 2,000, for the second and following children it is raised to Kcs 4,000.

Services for mothers and children, especially health care, help to a considerable degree improve the living conditions of mothers. This involves most of all methodically kept records and visits to special health centers, care for pregnant women, proper care rendered to newborn babies, or care for the newborn in special institutes for babies.

Important social aid to families with preschool children and a complement to their upbringing in the family are daycare centers; their network is now 23 times larger than in 1945. Training and care for children of working women are provided in kindergartens. In 1975-76 kindergartens had 17,896 classes with 475,000 places.

School meals for children in basic nine-grade schools facilitate the care for the family and reduce the women's workload. The number of children taking their meals there in 1975 was more than 1.5 million. State subsidies amounted to over Kcs 800 million.

Equipment of households with all kinds of modern appliances, including cleaning devices, electric and gas stoves, mixers, washing machines and refrigerators, plays an important role in making the housewives' work easier. In 1975 some 89.8 percent owned washing machines, 78.2 percent refrigerators and 71 percent sewing machines.

Housework is further facilitated and the time necessary for preparation of meals is reduced by a wide selection of prepared foods, frozen foods in a variety of ready meals, an expanded production of precooked products and canned goods. In the last 5 years the food industry increased the production of such goods by 15.7 percent in meats, 35.4 percent in poultry, 40.8 percent in prepared canned food, and 36.5 percent in fruit products, including frozen foods.

During the reconstruction of the retail network spacious large-volume stores are being built in which a new, advanced system of sales will increase productivity and in particular, reduce shopping time. In 1973 there were 468 department stores and shopping centers in operation (which is more than four times more than in 1960). In the Fifth Five-Year Plan more shopping centers (50-55) and department stores (12) will be built.

28 January 1977

9004

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INSTITUTE ATTEMPTING TO REDUCE 'SOCIAL DEBILITY' OF GYPSIES

Prague UCITELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech 18 May 78 p 7

[Article by Helena Cechova: "A Good Foundation for Life"]

[Excerpts] This time we visited an exceptional and of its kind unique institution. An inconspicuous small house--in the neighborhood of similar garden houses--has a sign next to its door--Children's Educational Institute. In Borislav--not far from Teplice--40 Gypsy children found their temporary home.

This institution started its work in early 50's. The director of the home at that time was personally visiting Gypsy families in order to select his wards. He sought children who seemed to him best and most talented for reindoctrination in his home. Gradually this situation changed a little. Today we find here boys and girls who were not especially selected, but whom diagnostic institutions simply found unfit to be educated in their families, be it because of themselves or because of a bad family environment.

The Borislav children's institute is a coeducational institution. Since the children are of Gypsy origin, work with this mixed group of girls and boys between 7 and 15 years, is rendered more problematical but simultaneously more interesting.

It is generally known that Gypsy children are, in sexual question, far ahead of other youth. It is necessary to count on sexual motivation of their behavior 3 to 4 years earlier than in usual cases. Consequently having these boys and girls under one roof is full of perils. Nevertheless, teachers and educators of this institution are successful in overcoming them. A divided education would only postpone solution of this question.

A further specific problem of work with young Gypsies is represented by their "social debility". It is a term expressing a generally overwhelming social backwardness of an overwhelming majority of the Gypsy youth. A primary task of educators is to remove this backwardness, to teach children

basic skills and to induce them to acquire socially normal manners. Another problem--that of language--is to be added. Many children have problems with mastering the Czech language because they went to school very sporadically and Czech was not used in their homes either. Even more problems are had by children whose families moved to Bohemia from Slovakia.

One of the character traits of the Gypsy ethnic is impulsiveness and a high degree of emotionality which the Gypsies cannot control. It results in outburst of joy, sadness, fury or regret. Not only the children, but mainly their families sometimes oppose education in the institute and this approach greatly complicates fast adaptation of a child within the new collective. But appearance of these emotional outbursts is as sudden as their disappearance. The family usually loses interest in the child within the first year, and sometimes will not even visit him. Typical for these parents is that they will take a new interest in their son or daughter only at the end of the child's stay in the institute when they--rightly--feel that the child will now get employment and will earn money.

Work with the parents is among the hardest tasks of the institute. The educators in Borislav try to maintain a steady contact with those parents whose children finish at least the sixth grade of the special school, thus creating a realistic hope that the students can be integrated into society and perform well. Nevertheless, most families live on an extremely low economic and cultural level, they refuse to pay even a rather symbolic contribution to the institute and they support themselves by work only if absolutely necessary. A parental visit or--on the other hand--only a short vacation of the child with the family can destroy many years of educational work. Consequently, the children's institution works the year around and children are sent home only upon agreement with the children's care section of the national committee.

In order to keep up discipline the institute uses a system of points and of weekly evaluation. According to this system, rewards and punishments are allotted. The educators take into consideration the fact that new children enter the institute depressed and frustrated and that they initially take a wait-and-see attitude. As a consequence, the educational collective tries to convince the children of the positive attitude of their environment. They are being praised for the least significant achievement, since it is extremely important to show the children from the very beginning different approaches and reactions than those they were accustomed to before they entered the children's home.

In the classroom and while working, it is necessary to keep in mind that one type of occupation should not last longer than 15 minutes. After a longer time these children will get tired and will not be capable fully to concentrate. Since the classes are divided--according to age groups--into 4 sections, it poses unusually high demands on the teacher's work.

A work educational group has existed already for 1 year and a half, established mainly because placement of boys and girls into employment is a rather difficult task. Should they be successful in their work, much depends on the correct selection of profession. Working well is cooperation with the national enterprise Spolchemie in Usti nad Labem. Work possibilities in this enterprise offer a broad scale of choice and the tasks are quite changeable. We must never forget that these young people cannot concentrate on one subject for too long a time. According to many years of experience, we may say that Gypsy boys educated in home are better and more valuably integrated into normal life than the girls.

We were allowed to read some of the letters written by former students to their teachers. The educators gladly forgive the gross grammatical faults and clumsy handwriting of their former wards. The greatest success and joy of an educator interested in this group of youth is directing it toward life and work, to a valuable contribution within society.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK CREATIVE ARTIST UNION: ITS ROLE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 78 p 5

[RUDE PRAVO interview with the Chairman of the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists, people's artist Josef Malejovsky, prepared by Jaroslav Strouhal: "Unity Multiplies Strength"]

[Text] Creative culture in all its manifold expressions and functions occupies a unique place in the cultural life of both our peoples. In order to fulfill with even greater success the mission of creative art in socialist Czechoslovakia, the two national unions of creative artists recently undertook the formation of a single federal organization, the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists. Sculptor Josef Malejovsky, academician and people's artist, was elected its chairman, and we asked him several questions.

[Question] The February constituent congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists represents an important step in building a base for Czech and Slovak creative artists. Comrade chairman, what are the tasks you consider primary and most important?

[Answer] The Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists constituent congress found it possible to declare that our creative art in recent years has achieved a higher level in developing a creative basis of artistic performance. A broad front of Czech and Slovak creative artists, aware socialist creators, has been formed and consolidated. The mission and function of the creative arts in our society have been noticeably intensified. Extraordinary creative activity in all the branches of Czech and Slovak creative art has unfolded, and has already produced a number of good, outstanding new works. The rich harvest of newly created works basically for the most part follows the principles of socialist realism. One can say that it is occupied with the manifold, rich and dramatic themes of our present, as well as with the basic socialist changes of life.

Our creative art's socioeducational mission, its active participation in construction and production, as well as its impact on man's moral and aesthetic education and on formation of society's environment, have been successfully revived and further developed. By its results the new

artistic production convincingly shows that the decisive sector of our creative front fully identifies with the party's and the state's cultural policy; it is making an effort to be a broad reflection of the multifaceted character, motivation and complexity of the contemporary social movement and its future prospects. Our public can acquaint itself with these facts by attending the numerous exhibitions. In this connection I should like to mention, above all, the Review of Contemporary Czechoslovak Creative Art being held, since the end of February, in Jizdarna Hall of the Prague castle and in several other Prague exhibition galleries. It focuses on the most characteristic new works done by Czech and Slovak artists in the last two years.

It is the first undertaking of the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists; it was organized in cooperation with both the national unions immediately after its constituent congress.

In the period just past, cooperation between Czech and Slovak creative artists and their unions has broadened to the advantage of both our national cultures. There has been the additional development of international cooperation with creative artists in the Soviet Union, in other socialist countries and with progressive artists in other states.

The constituent congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists thus logically reflects the positive, successful development of both our national creative cultures. Also, it represents a fulfillment of a significant and important prerequisite which makes it possible for us as socialist creative artists to work jointly with even greater effectiveness in our performance on the task of creating aesthetic values in contemporary life.

The constituent congress established principles for the ideological and organizational framework from which our federal union will derive and gradually develop its specific activity. In line with these principles the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists will unify both national unions' activity from the viewpoint of one single all-state cultural-political and ideological-artistic tasks and requirements. It will resolutely foster mutual cooperation and deepening of fraternal relations and collaboration of Czech and Slovak creative artists, exchange of values between contemporary Czech and Slovak creative art, and unified ideological-artistic criteria in work, theory and criticism. Together with both national unions, the Union will organize state-wide shows of creative art, hold seminars and discussions, and arrange work-assignments and contests.

In cooperation with both national unions the Union of Czechoslovak Creative Artists will plan and provide for foreign contacts by Czechoslovak creative artists. It will negotiate and conclude agreements with unions of artists in socialist countries and cooperate with progressive artists of other states. It will sponsor travel abroad for our artists, so that they may actively participate in international congresses, conferences, symposia and exhibitions, take part in the activity of international non-governmental

organizations in the creative arts field and host visits of foreign creative artists and exhibitions. The Union will arrange for joint exhibitions of Czechoslovak creative art collections abroad and promote the best products of our latest creative output. In brief, therefore, our task will be to develop, working with both our national unions, the strength of a unified Czechoslovak creative art deriving from both our national cultures, with their specific characteristics and common ideological and artistic aims.

[Question] What concrete plans has the Union for the near future?

[Answer] In its programmatic tasks for the future our Union is guided by the inspiring and majestic goals of satisfying material and spiritual needs of our workers, goals formulated by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 15th congress. We want to achieve these noble objectives by our new artistic production and by our ideological and cultural-political activity. We are aware that the new developmental stage of a mature socialist society makes much greater demands on the ideological and artistic level as well as on the level of social effectiveness of the new art production. It also makes demands on the artist's creative responsibility and on the ideological and organizational quality of our work. A number of inspirational tasks confront us in the areas of architecture and construction, industrial production and other sectors, especially in creating a life and work environment, and in fostering gradual crystallization of a socialist life style and a new, socialist creative art style.

We want therefore to develop all our fields of free and applied art as well as industrial craftsmanship, and its criticism and promotion, into a comprehensive Czechoslovak socialist creative culture, which would be internally diversified, rich and varied in expression but uniform in its ideological principles. We plan to create conditions for artistic work that will be imbued with communist ideology and party-mindedness, derived from the creative method of socialist realism. This art production will be open and truthful; it will reflect the spiritual and material needs of our life, consolidate the people's attitude toward socialism, release creative human talent, cultivate man's sense of beauty and constantly enrich his life. We consider it our duty to creatively reevaluate and develop the living art heritage of the past and our active relationship to the artistic achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In exhibiting we plan to facilitate competition of creative achievement for artists of all generations, verifying new creative work for its artistic and social effectiveness. We are interested in attracting a broad range of visitors to our exhibitions. We want to attract all well-disposed artists to these goals in order to develop in them an awareness of the great demands and responsibilities of creative work, discover new talent in the new generations of creative artists and create conditions for their ideological artistic growth as well as for their active social role. The congress's report and discussions emphasized that we have special interest

in the healthy development of our young generation of creative artists, since they represent the new complement of socialist creative art on whom will depend the successful development of our future creative culture. To achieve these goals we are anticipating more active and effective help from our creative-art theorists, critics and commentators. We are also convinced that our Union's periodicals, VYTVARNA KULTURA and VYTVARNY ZIVOT will play a greater role in uniting our theorists. These periodicals should become a genuine platform of Marxist-Leninist criticism and commentary. We also expect that both our periodicals will cooperate much more closely with professional art periodicals in socialist countries. At present we are preparing transfer of the Review of Contemporary Czechoslovak Creative Art to Bratislava. A number of selected public shows of our contemporary creative art will be held in individual socialist countries.

[Question] How will the federal Union's work affect our relations with foreign partners, and what are the opportunities in that area?

[Answer] The Union will concentrate, first of all, on developing and intensifying friendly cooperation with unions of creative artists in the USSR and other socialist countries. We have jointly concluded five-year plans of cooperation for the years 1976-1980 which include exchange of exhibitions, study and working visits by creative artists and theorists, exchange of experience as to methods of operation of union organs, and coordination of a joint-approach procedure in participating in international activities, exhibitions and congresses of international nongovernmental organizations. According to these agreements, formulated annually, we are going to undertake a number of creative art symposia and group exchanges of creative artists with individual socialist countries with the aim of doing work jointly on great constructions of socialism in diverse environments of life and work. We want thus to create possibilities for production to exist which will reflect life in friendly countries. Results will be exhibited both at home and abroad. These qualitatively new forms of cooperation have proven very successful; they contribute to mutual understanding and strengthening of friendship among creative artists of individual socialist countries and among their working people.

We will be sending shows to friendly socialist countries and hosting foreign exhibitions, thus enabling us to become familiar with what foreign artists produce and to enrich our own exhibition programs.

We will ensure regular participation of Czechoslovak creative art in such important international exhibitions and competitions as the Biennial of Graphic and Poster Arts in Cracow and Warsaw, the Triennial of Realistic Paintings in Sophia, the Quadriennial of Applied Arts in Erfurt, the Intergraphik in Berlin, Artistic Ceramics in Gdansk and Zoppot, the Biennial of Small Plastic Art Objects in Budapest, the Triennial of Graphic Art in Florence, and Artistic Ceramics in Faenza (Italy) and Vallauris (France).

We are represented in nine international nongovernmental organizations of creative art, and we regularly send our delegates to their meetings and

congresses. We thus attempt to cooperate with progressive creative artists all over the world.

This characteristic of fruitful and far-flung international activity by Czech and Slovak creative artists is evidence of the concerted effort to promote the creative results of our contemporary arts abroad. It also testifies to our share in intensifying international cooperation and exchange of artistic values, in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Our foreign contacts are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and struggle for social progress. We are interested in exchanging such graphic and plastic art as will serve the ideals of justice, freedom and friendship among peoples and has a strongly humanistic content and artistic quality.

At a recent joint international meeting of leading representatives of art unions of all socialist countries which took place in Berlin and Dresden, we dealt with and agreed upon important joint projects for bilateral and multilateral cooperation between our friendly socialist creative cultures. This will undoubtedly mean further deepening and enrichment of our activity within the framework of international cooperation.

Thanks for the interview.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

BAD WORKING CONDITIONS--Okres administrations for health insurance ordered a total of 334 enterprises to pay a surcharge to the insurance premium in 1977, since the work environment did not satisfy safety and health protection regulations or the health standards. A total of Kcs 23,615 was paid. This almost doubled the amount paid in 1976. That already makes clear that the health insurance organs used the surcharge more actively in the year, knowing that it is an important tool for improvement of the working conditions. On the other hand, it indicates that neither the management nor the trade union organizations of many plants try to remove the deficiencies, in spite of considerable financial losses. Two hundred seventy eight enterprises paid the insurance surcharge by the end of 1976. During last year it was abolished in only 111 enterprises which definitely removed the deficiencies. A detailed analysis of current work disability in these enterprises shows that its percentage has been radically lowered, as well as the incidence of accidents and the exposure of workers to various professional ailments. In spite of it, over 300 enterprises pay the surcharge at the present time. How long will their managements and trade union organizations wait with realization of measures which will enable the workers to fulfill their tasks in good working conditions and without risking their health? [Text] [Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Jun 78 p 3 WA]

REGIME CRITICS STILL DETAINED--According to the Charter 77 spokesmen, out of some 60 persons apprehended before Mr Brezhnev's visit in Prague, 3 are still in detention. They are Jiri Grusa, writer, Pavel Roubal, engineer and Jan Simsa from Brno. Grusa and Roubal are accused of "subversive activities" under article 100 of the Penal Code. Grusa was censured for tolerating the spread of divergence under the cloak of his novel "The Questionnaire". Scrutinies and interrogations are still under way in Brno. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 14 Jun 78 p 3]

CSO: 3100

EAST GERMANY

POLITBURO MEMBER INTERVIEWED ON ATHENS KKE CONGRESS

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11, No 24, 1978 signed to press
5 June 78 pp 3, 6 AU

[Interview with Paul Verner, SED Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, on the 10th Congress of the Greek Communist Party [KKE]--date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Question: The SED delegation, under your leadership, attended the 10th Congress of the Greek Communist Party [KKE], which was the first legal congress of this party in 33 years. What characterized this congress?

Answer: There are many characteristics which were significant for this important event in the life of the party and of the working people of Greece: characteristics, such as the enthusiasm of the Greek communists, which marked the party congress itself, as well as the enthusiastic closing rally which gathered 50,000 people at the Panonion Stadium in Athens. The heroism with which the Greek communists fought and are still fighting for the cause of the workers class and of the entire working people, for this just cause for which the party made so many sacrifices--this heroism can also be called characteristic. The 674 regular delegates to the congress have spent a total of 2,681 years of suffering in prisons, concentration camps and in exile.

Three factors in particular characterized the party congress. They were: First, the fighting power of the fraternal Greek party, a power tested in numerous class battles. The party congress demonstrated to a particular extent, and in a very impressive manner, the increased strength, the ideological unity and cohesion of the party, as well as the enhanced influence of the KKE.

On the other hand, another characteristic is the firm rooting of the party in the working people. This can be proved by the fact that approximately 100,000 party members participated in preliminary discussions for the preparation of the congress which lasted for 4 months. Members of the communist youth organization and other progressive forces also took part in the discussion.

One characteristic is noted above all--and this is the source of the KKE's successful struggle--the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the loyalty of the Greek communists to proletarian internationalism. The report of the Central Committee, as well as the discussion that followed, pointed out on frequent occasions that these abovementioned factors are the basis of the party's progress and the main prerequisite for a scientific analysis of social processes within the country. The cordiality with which the 45 foreign delegations of communist and workers parties, as well as of national liberation movements, were welcomed eloquently demonstrated this attitude.

After this emotional congress--which was held in an atmosphere of optimism, frankness, firm resolve and confidence--I would like to point out: It is and it remains the historical contribution of the KKE to have assumed the responsibility for the workers class and for the working people of Greece, to have assumed the responsibility toward the international communist movement, to have consolidated its ranks on the basis of the scientific world outlook of the workers class and on the basis of proletarian internationalism in the struggle against revisionism and opportunism, and to have developed as the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class in its country.

Question: What was the situation when this 10th party congress took place?

Answer: The party congress was held 4 years after the overthrow of the fascist junta and after the legalization of the party. The report of the KKE Central Committee, read by Comrade Harilaos Florakis, the general secretary of the party, described the strong upsurge of the struggles waged by the workers class, by the tradesmen, by the peasantry, by the scientists, by the intelligentsia, and by young people as one of the chief characteristic features of this epoch: to put it briefly, as the epoch of the development of a strong democratic people's movement. This democratic movement, as Comrade Florakis stated, opposes the country's manifold dependency upon the United States and NATO. It opposes the policy of subjection and austerity at the expense of the working people while generous privileges are at the same time being granted to national and foreign monopolies.

Question: What importance are the struggles of the workers class assuming in this connection?

Answer: The expansion of the workers struggles represents a particularly eloquent expression of the growing combat readiness of the working people in their resistance against the heavy burden of the economic crisis. An inflation rate of 17-18 percent was registered in the first months of this year. In 1975 a total of approximately 35,200 workers participated in strikes, while in 1977 over 1.6 million people participated in strikes and in the first 4 months of this year over 1.5 million people participated in strikes, compared to the total population of Greece which amounts to nearly 9 million people. The remarkable characteristic of these struggles is that scientists, teachers, lawyers, actors, and journalists are also participating side by side with the workers class, in strike actions.

In the working peoples' struggles the communists were in the foremost ranks, and the alliance with the working people has deepened. The movement is increasingly acquiring an anti-imperialist and antimonopolist character, as was underlined by comrade Harilaos Florakis.

Question: Which tasks were in the center of the party congress, and how do the Greek communists conceive the solution to them?

Answer: The party congress summed up the experiences of the 4 years of people's struggle and mapped out the party's future road. It set the goals to sever Greece from its dependence on the United States and on NATO, to achieve an economic development that is beneficial to the people and to implement a democracy of the people in the struggle against monopoly capital. This democracy of the people, it was stressed, can only be the result of the alliance of all anti-imperialist, antimonopolist democratic forces under the leadership of the workers class.

The party congress set the task to win the majority of the working people for an anti-imperialist, antimonopolist democracy of the people. The forging of this majority was depicted by the Greek communists as their main strategic task. Here the establishment of the unity of action of the workers class is of primary importance.

The party congress, moreover, directed itself toward the development of a broad movement for peace and detente embracing all people of good will, toward the struggle against the U.S. plans to produce and deploy the neutron weapon in the NATO states, the struggle for the disbandment of the NATO and U.S. military bases, and for Greece's quitting NATO. The KKE advocates a just solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the UN resolutions and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace.

As stressed in the documents and in the discussion, the prerequisite for attaining this far-reaching aim is the further strengthening of the party, the expansion of the basic organizations and a turning to the masses on a broad scale. The communists will intensify their work in the trade unions, among the peasants, the youth and the other working strata; win the confidence of the members of these organizations through an exemplary and consistent attitude; and perform the best work for attaining their goals.

Question: Which ideological questions were the focus of the 10th party congress?

Answer: As I have already said, much attention was given to ideological problems both in the Central Committee report and in the discussion. As declared by the party congress, the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism is a constant task.

"It is also necessary," Comrade Florakia said, "to wage the struggle against the views of the so-called 'Greek socialism' in all its varieties, views

that are making absolute the national peculiarities and that charge us with imitating foreign models so as to falsify the nature of socialism, to deny its general laws of development and to negate the experiences gained in building the really existing socialism."

The party congress resolutely rejected the attempts of Greek revisionists to offer the so-called Eurocommunism as a new model of socialism. As the party congress declared, the term "Eurocommunism" in its practical expression constitutes i.a. an under-estimation of the leading role of the workers class, a policy of alliances that is moving away from the class position of the workers class, a negation of its revolutionary power, a concept of the terms freedom and democracy that is not class consistent, a distortion of the concept of peaceful coexistence, and a falsification and abandonment of the thesis of proletarian internationalism.

"Our party categorically opposes the views that pit Leninism against Marxism, as well as against all views that attempt to deny the international significance of Leninism," the Central Committee report declares.

The party congress regards the intensification of ideological work not only as a central task for further increasing the party's fighting strength but also as a fundamental prerequisite for further increasing the party's influence in the workers class and in the working strata of the people.

Question: How do the Greek communists assess the international development?

Answer: In its assessment of the international situation the party congress proceeded from the premise of a further change in the international balance of forces in favor of the forces of socialism, of democracy, national independence and of peace. It emphatically pointed out that the all-round successes of the community of socialist states and of their main force, the Soviet Union, are furthering the development of the struggle of the workers class in the capitalist countries as well as the struggle of the third world liberated states and the development of the liberation movements against imperialism and neocolonialism. One of the high points was the reception extended to, and the appearance of, the CPSU delegation. The party congress stressed that due to the persistent and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community the policy of detente and of peaceful coexistence has led to substantial results especially in Europe.

At the same time the party congress declared that imperialism, though compelled to recognize the principles of peaceful coexistence, has by no means changed its aggressive nature. This is testified to by the arms race fanned by the imperialists as well as by their attempts to reverse the process of detente and to drag the world back into the era of the cold war. The party congress paid tribute to the results of the Berlin Conference of the European Communist and Workers Parties and the documents adopted by it. The KKE resolutely supports the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

Question: The party congress discussed and adopted modifications of and amendments to the party program. What goals are set by this program for the future development of Greek society?

Answer: The modifications of and amendments to the program result from the changes that have occurred in the past 4 years both in Greece's socio-economic structure and in its social development after the overthrow of the fascist junta in July 1974. The party program made the decisive statement that Greece "will get to socialism through a uniform, revolutionary process that will have two phases: an anti-imperialist, antimonopolist and democratic one and a socialist one." The Central Committee report stresses that the implementation of the program of the democracy of the people will not be possible "unless the fundamental question of every revolution, namely, the question of power, has been decided."

In working out its strategy and tactics the KKE proceeds from the combined effects of the general laws of development of socialist transformation and of the correct assessment of Greece's special characteristics. In this context the party congress declared that there is no reason to renounce the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" which the classics of Marxism have used to describe the content of proletarian power. "What matters in this context is to make clear to the working people the real content of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a higher form of democracy, a democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people of the country...."

Question: How would you characterize relations between the SED and the fraternal Greek party?

Answer: The SED and the KKE have been linked for decades by firm bonds of solidarity and of proletarian internationalism.

Our delegation was deeply moved by the great attention and cordiality with which the party congress received the greetings of our Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. Many delegates enthusiastically welcomed our delegation by chanting in German the slogan "long live international solidarity." The same cordial atmosphere marked our meetings with the reflected KKE general secretary, Harilaos Florakis, with other Politburo members and with comrades of the West Attica District and the industrial workers town of Elefsina. In this town a communist was elected mayor. These were impressive hours of friendship and of mutual exchange of experience. They confirmed at the same time in a special manner our fighting partnership whose inshakable foundation is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Together with the other foreign delegations we honored the memory of the Greek communists and other patriots fallen and murdered in the antifascist struggle. A broad alliance of all progressive forces, an anti-imperialist antimonopolist democracy of the people--that is what Greece's communists are fighting for.

NEW RULES ISSUED ON JUDICIAL DETERMINATION OF EVIDENCE

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 99, 25 May 78 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Supreme Court Assigns Stricter Requirements for Taking of Evidence." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] At its latest meeting the GDR Supreme Court Plenum enacted a directive "on questions of the judicial taking of evidence and the determination of truth in socialist criminal proceedings." It replaces a similar resolution of the Supreme Court dating from 1970. As the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ explains, this earlier resolution no longer meets current requirements on trial verdicts. The new directive is mandatory on all courts of law and sets more stringent requirements on the taking of evidence. It calls for the strictest impartiality of the courts. All statements justifying the conviction must "be proven." Only such statements may be admitted, which the court itself has arrived at in the course of the trial. The evidence serving as justification of the court verdict must be "irrefutable." The critical examination of defendant's confession is emphasized as "a vital need in the determination of truth."

New Legal Requirements

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 32 No 5, May 78 pp 197-200

[Article by Dr Siegfried Wittenbeck, chief justice, member of presidium, GDR Supreme Court: "Taking of Evidence and Determination of Truth in Socialist Criminal Proceedings"]

[Text] At its Seventh Meeting on 16 March 1978, the Supreme Court Plenum dealt with the problems of evidence taking by the courts and the determination of truth in socialist criminal proceedings, important matters for criminal justice generally. Subsequently it enacted a directive.¹ This starts from the premise that socialist criminal trials proceed on a strictly legal basis, and that the dignity of man, his freedom and rights, are protected

by the laws of the socialist state. The determination of truth is emphasized as a fundamental principle of socialist criminal proceedings and as the necessary prerequisite for just and lawful verdicts. To be able to discharge the function of the criminal trial and to ensure that every offender but no innocent person is convicted, it is necessary to arrive at the truth about the alleged offense and its circumstances as well as about the personality of the defendant. The determination of the truth encourages the confidential relation between state and citizen as well as the readiness of working people to cooperate in combating and preventing crime. It is the prerequisite for ensuring that the conduct and appraisal of criminal proceedings effectively contribute to the maintenance of socialist legality as well as to order, discipline and security in the social sphere.

Requirements on Trials and Their Management

The directive cancels the resolution adopted by the Supreme Court Plenum on problems involved in the judicial taking of evidence and the determination of truth in socialist criminal proceedings, dated 30 September 1970--I PIB 2/1970--(NEUE JUSTIZ supplement No 5/1970 to issue No 21). This resolution has done well in court practice. It served to illuminate many questions regarding the taking of evidence, and the ensuing rules were uniformly carried out. Now, however, our social development makes new demands on adjudication and its management. These also determine the criteria for a higher quality of the judicial taking of evidence and the determination of truth. The new directive takes the following requirements into account:

1. It is oriented more emphatically to the practical problems of the taking of evidence and foregoes an extensive theoretical section. The fundamental theoretical explanations on the 30 September 1970 decision on evidence are still in effect; they have become part and parcel of scientific teaching and research.²
2. The directive takes into account the principles drafted after 1970 concerning the concentrated conduct of the taking of evidence.
3. It deals with problems other than those mentioned in the decision on evidence, for example the examination of material evidence and the cooperation of social forces in the taking of evidence.

The directive is based on the constitutional principle that the irrefutable proof of guilt is the indispensable prerequisite for the criminal responsibility of the offender (article 99 paragraph 2 of the Constitution). No probability of the offender's guilt--however strong--is enough. Here we have precisely the fundamental and class-like difference between our standpoint on the determination of truth and the interpretations of bourgeois criminal law in theory and practice.

Bourgeois Theory and Practice of the So-Called Free Summing Up of the Evidence

Bourgeois legislation quite deliberately omits to require the determination of truth in criminal trials. Article 261 of the FRG's penal code says: "The court decides the result of the taking of evidence in accordance with its free conviction, arrived at in the course of the proceedings."

This legal standard is commented to the effect that "the criterion of certainty based on experience is adequate...as the basis of court verdicts."³ As a consequence of the so-called free summing-up of the evidence, therefore, the probable guilt of the defendant is enough to affirm criminal responsibility. The StPO [code of criminal procedure] commentary by Mueller/Sax explains that, confronted with objectively possible doubts, the court must be free when deciding the question of guilt; sufficient is a degree of probability "arising as a consequence of the most exhaustive and conscientious possible use of the available material evidence."⁴

The authors consider the nature of the so-called free summing up of the evidence to be this: The summing-up can never do more than strive for subjective truth, and the judge must arrive at it after weighing all aspects of the matter. The criterion of this subjective truth is not social practice but the subjective practical and professional experience of the judge or collective of judges. N. Plassmann, for example, retired chief judge at the Stuttgart Supreme Court, wrote in the JURISTENZEITUNG: "The judge's exercise of his profession does not, therefore, represent an attempt to impose convictions and interests but initially and primarily the plain application of that which he has been taught;...in the entirely intellectual labor constituting judicial proceedings this implies the constant endeavor to reconcile the individual cases submitted to the judge with the concepts learned, that is to transmute them conceptually into 'facts of the matter' and thereupon arrive at the legal conclusions. The incomprehensibility of judicial verdicts (often complained of) is the direct consequence of the imprint of conceptual training. If judges were trained in more comprehensible terms, they would express themselves more comprehensibly also..."⁵

It is obvious that the so-called free choice "between various possibilities in the summing-up" inherently tolerates misinterpretations of the facts of the matter, and that subsequent wrongful verdicts are accepted as an inevitability. It is quite logical, therefore, for W. Zeidler, vice president of the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, to confess in the West German RICHTERZEITUNG (No 9/1977) that the majority of the people are in danger "of appearing foolhardy if they think of looking to the courts for their rights."

Determination of the Objective Truth on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism

The socialist law on criminal proceedings is based on the Marxist-Leninist appreciation that the acknowledgment of objective truth is essential for materialism.⁶ The question at the heart of our law of evidence is that of the

nature of the truth to be determined in the course of the criminal trial. The affirmation of the determination of objective truth as the goal of the argumentation in the socialist criminal proceeding is based on the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

In its verdicts the Supreme Court has always been guided by the principle that it is inadmissible and unscientific to acknowledge a separate judicial truth in addition to the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the truth. The court affirms the philosophical interpretation of objective truth which is scientific and part of the perception theory of dialectic materialism. Within this meaning truth is an objective quality of the court testimony on the action of the defendant, a content of human perceptions which is independent of the subject.

By this standpoint on the objectivity of the truth to be determined in the criminal trial we reject any subjectivist constructions. Court evidence does not provide the truth. It is the court's duty to prove the still unrecognized and secured objective truth about the behavior of the defendant and either substantiate it or, if the allegation is unconfirmed--determine the lack of substantiation for the accusation made.⁷

Karl Marx wrote that "truth needs not only the result, it also needs the approach. The investigation of truth must itself be true..."⁸ This appreciation represents the basis of the principles of the presentation of evidence described in the directive; they correspond to the nature of the socialist criminal law as a criminal law concerned with genuine guilt. These principles must be realized in every criminal trial without any restriction whatsoever. They are closely connected with the general requirement on the conduct of criminal trials, such as

- The highest quality of proceedings (including the matter-of-fact and party-like management of the trial by the chairman);
- The strict observation of all trial regulations applicable to the conduct of the proceedings (including the observation of the rights of those involved in the proceedings);
- The convincingly substantiated verdict of the court.

Soviet law literature ascribes great importance to the strict observation and use of all procedural regulations. It was emphasized, for example, that the procedural actions at the start of court proceedings, though not part of the taking of evidence, are by no means of a formal nature only. Such simple and obvious matters as the punctual start of the session, the prompt roll call and the examination of particulars, supervision of the observance of trial dates, the information of those present about the composition of the court, and so on--all these are designed "to ascertain the presence of the legally prescribed prerequisites for the complete, all-round and objective conduct of the hearing, the orderly determination and appraisal of the

evidence,⁹ and finally for the pronouncement of a legal and substantiated verdict." Without the consistent conduct of these procedures, without clarification of the questions to be decided in the preparation of the trial, it is not possible to provide the prerequisites for the conduct of the taking of evidence in strict conformity with the trial order.

Principles of the Presentation of Evidence

Introducing the first section of the directive are the principles of the presentation of evidence. They represent the politico-ideological basis of the taking of evidence and the determination of the truth. Their proper understanding is thus also the basis for the socially effective use of the various procedural regulations. The description of the content of the principles of the presentation of evidence is therefore not merely a theoretical discussion of the subject; indeed we are most concerned with the politico-ideological and practical requirements of the conduct of the trial to be deduced therefrom. It is therefore imperative always to establish the indivisible connection between these principles and the other sections of the directive on the initiation of proceedings and the preparation and conduct of the hearing of evidence.

The following principles apply to the presentation of evidence:

1. The principle of scientific method and impartiality of the presentation of evidence is based on the unity of truth, scientific method and party-likeness. Truth and socialist party-likeness depend on one another. Socialist party-likeness requires and guarantees the objective and all-round determination of truth about every crime by the lawful and impartial presentation of the evidence.

The principle of scientific method and impartiality of the presentation of evidence relates closely to the socialist principle of the presumption of innocence. Nobody may be presumed guilty of a crime before criminal responsibility has been proven and determined in a legal verdict. If there is any doubt, the verdict must favor the defendant (article 4 paragraph 5 StGB, article 6 paragraph 2 StPO).

2. The presentation of the evidence is the duty of the court (article 22 StPO).

This principle derives directly from the lawful assignment of the court to determine the truth and includes

- The court's duty to trace all necessary evidence and base the summing-up on this evidence;
- The defendant's right to cooperate in the determination of truth;
- The prohibition of imposing on the defendant the duty to present evidence (article 8 StPO).

It follows that it is inadmissible to reject defense submissions by the defendant as so-called self-seeking claims without proving that the submission is untrue.

The court's duty to present the evidence signifies that all assertions must be proven before being taken into account in the verdict.

Only such determinations may be used, which the court itself has established in the trial, and which arise from evidence given in the course of the hearing. The presentation of evidence to substantiate the court verdict must be irrefutable.

3. The principle of the immediacy of the taking of evidence arises from the special status of the court in criminal proceedings which are to be decided on the guilt or innocence of the defendant and on the penalty to be imposed. It includes

- The court's duty in principle to take oral evidence from defendants, witnesses and representatives of the collective (articles 222 ff, StPO);
- The duty on principle to submit material evidence at the trial and to adequately acquaint all those involved in the proceedings with any records (article 51 StPO);
- The ban on replacing the examination of witnesses (except in lawfully regulated exceptions) by reading the records of earlier hearings (article 225 paragraph 1 StPO).

4. The following requirements on the court arise from the principle of the lawfulness of the presentation of evidence:

- Evidence may be presented only in accordance with the lawfully admitted supporting evidence;
- The acquisition of supporting evidence and the presentation of evidence must proceed in the manner prescribed by law;
- No supporting evidence has inherent evidential force.

Content and Object of the Court's Taking of Evidence

The directive stresses that the taking of evidence firstly refers to the circumstances concerning the examination of the presence of criminal responsibility, and is secondly concerned with the all-round elucidation of those factors which determine the extent of criminal responsibility. The requirements of the directive demonstrate the close links between criminal law and the law on criminal procedure.¹⁰

For the just and effective use of the measures of criminal responsibility those factors are of the greatest importance, which provide information about the development of the defendant with reference to the crime. Involved here are not simply facts about the person as such but the description of the defendant's development. In addition to correct work on the confession, it is vital to determine

- The facts regarding the total behavior of the defendant since the crime and its discovery;
- The development of his behavior with regard to the offense (disavowal, remorse, cooperation in pretrial proceedings); his status in the collective discussion;
- The actual efforts made to make restitution for the damage caused by the crime (where does the money come from, from the offender himself or from members of his family? Did the restitution in fact involve sensible sacrifices, or did it not?)

The determination of such developmental problems of the criminal helps considerably to raise the relevance of the personal particulars both in the proceedings and the verdict. It rejects the mere accumulation of general data about the earlier life of the defendant, which are irrelevant to the crime and also to the decision about criminal responsibility. It also helps better to implement the requirement of article 61 paragraph 2 StGB, according to which the penalty imposed should take into account the criminal's personality, his behavior before and after commission of the crime.

On the Examination of the Supporting Evidence

One of the central tenets of the directive is the legal determination that no supporting evidence has inherent evidential force, and the requirement arising therefrom critically to examine all supporting evidence.

The critical examination of the confession is also an imperative requirement of the determination of truth in the socialist criminal trial. To carry it out will require consultation of the data provided by other supporting evidence to hand, although admittedly the volume and quality of such supporting evidence tends to vary from case to case.

In some cases no other direct evidence is available for the examination of the confession. Yet even such confessions may be checked by taking into consideration the extent and type of the facts described, especially with respect to the accuracy of detail and to specificity. It is most important here to check the truthfulness of the details mentioned in the confession, to supplement and reinforce them by other determinations of the facts. To be considered possible supplementary evidence for checking on such confessions are, among others, inspections of locales and objects as well as the reconstruction of the events (articles 50, 222 paragraph 2 StPO).¹²

In accordance with the legal regulations the directive emphasizes that material evidence must in principle be presented in the original. Only if that is not possible or not useful will it be permissible to submit photographs, copies, and so on. In that case the court must check the correctness and reliability of the reproduction.

In every case either the material evidence of records proper or the photographs, copies, and so on, must be included in the hearing as per article 51 StPO. In accordance with article 230 StPO the defendant must be given an opportunity to make a statement.

Juridical opinion is divided on the question whether tape recordings of the interrogations of defendants or witnesses should be admissible. Sometimes tape recordings of an interrogation are admitted in lieu of written records.¹³ According to the rulings of the Supreme Court and the interpretation offered in the textbook "Strafverfahrensrecht" [Law of Criminal Proceedings], tape recordings of an interrogation are admissible only in addition to a written record. That corresponds to the text of article 106 paragraph 2 StPO. Any other interpretation, therefore, conflicts with the law, nor is it reconcilable with the current needs and possibilities of court practice.

On the Concentrated Conduct of the Taking of Evidence

The law demands the all-round determination of the facts of the matter. It is quite well known that this demand has frequently been misinterpreted in the sense of an unjustified expansion of the taking of evidence. In the past the central judiciary and security organs have taken issue with these phenomena by the adoption of various instructions.¹⁴ These instructions have helped restrict expenditure in the proceedings to the strictly necessary extent. The directive emphasizes in this connection:

1. A high standard of the court's taking of evidence includes its rational organization; quality and rationality are not opposites, in fact they represent a unity.
2. The taking of evidence should involve the expenditure necessary for the accurate determination of the truth. Necessary investigations should not be omitted in the interest of a misinterpreted rationality.
3. Completeness in this meaning signifies the opposite to one-sided and prejudiced summing-up, oriented only to incriminating elements. This concept corresponds to the requirements of article 222 StPO which calls not for completeness per se but obligates the court to arrive at the necessary determination "of the incriminating and exonerating aspects, fully and impartially."

In the interest of the rational organization of the taking of evidence the court must carefully consider which judicial evidence is really necessary to enable it to decide the facts of the matter and the seriousness of the deed as well as the just penalty.¹⁵ As the appraisal of court practice shows, the standard and rationality of the taking of evidence can be further improved if, especially,

- The court foregoes the collection of evidence concerned with secondary facts which are irrelevant to the matter in hand;
- The circumstances necessary for the appraisal of the criminal's personality are discussed in the course of the hearing only to the extent that they had contributed to the offense or affect the seriousness of the crime, or have some other significance for the apportionment of the penalty.

The hearing of witnesses may be omitted if a confession by the defendant is to hand, which is free of contradictions and agrees with the information provided by other supplementary evidence. If witnesses must be heard, and if several witnesses agree in their descriptions of the same criminal act, it is enough to hear only one witness. It is not necessary to trace evidence which merely repeats facts already proved by other material evidence.

The Supreme Court Plenum called for the further improvement of the quality of court proceedings and verdicts. In this connection it pointed out the great political significance of the strict legality and persuasiveness of trials and verdicts. This requires proceedings to be conducted quickly and with concentration, stringently observing procedural standards and socially effective. Trials must better contribute to the development of socialist attitudes, to support for the initiatives involved in the enforcement of socialist legality, the assurance of order, discipline and security.

The enactment of the directive on problems of the courts taking of evidence and the determination of truth in the socialist criminal trial is an important management decision taken by the Supreme Court Plenum for the realization of the tasks arising from the ninth party congress resolutions for the strict observance of socialist legality.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Supreme Court Plenum's directive on problems of the courts taking of evidence and the determination of truth in the socialist criminal trial of 16 March 1978 will be published in the GESETZBLATT. [Published in East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK Part I No 14, 9 May 78 pp 169-172]
2. See "Lehrbuch des Strafverfahrensrechts" [Textbook of the Law on Criminal Trials], Berlin 1977.
3. See Kleinknecht, "Strafprozessordnung mit GbG und Nebengesetzen" [Criminal Trial Order With GBG and Ancillary Laws], 32d edition, Munich 1975, p 765.
4. See Mueller/Sax, "Kommentar zur Strafprozessordnung" [Commentary on Criminal Trial Order], Darmstadt 1966, p 847.

5. N. Plassmann, "The Reality of Judges," JURISTENZEITUNG 1977, No 18, p 589.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," "Collected Works," Vol 14, Berlin 1968, p 121.
7. See also R. Schindler, "The Supreme Court Contribution to the Development of Socialist Principles of the Law on Evidence in Criminal Trials," in "Oberstes Gericht der DDR, Hoechstes Organ Wahrhaft Demokratischer Rechtssprechung" [GDR Supreme Court, Highest Organ of the Truly Democratic Pronouncement of the Law], Berlin 1970, pp 154 ff.
8. K. Marx, "Bemerkungen Ueber die Preussische Zensurinstruktion" [Remarks on the Prussian Instruction on Censorship], Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 1, Berlin 1961, p 7.
9. See H. Luther, "A Textbook for the Criminal Trial Judge in the Soviet Union," NEUE JUSTIZ 1974 No 1, pp 18 ff; V. Subin, "On the Observance of the Legislation on Criminal Proceedings in Court Criminal Trials," SOVIETSKAYA YUSTITIYA 1976 No 2, pp 3 ff.
10. See also I. Buchholz, "Once Again on the Object and Extent of the Summing-Up in Criminal Proceedings," NEUE JUSTIZ 1977, No 14, p 460.
11. The directive takes into account the research results issued by the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence.
12. See R. Herrmann, "On the Examination of Confessions," in this issue.
13. See, for example, Ch. Koristka, "The Procedural Bases for the Use in Criminal Trials of Tape Recordings of Interrogations," in "Die Vernehmung von Zeugen und Beschuldigten" [The Interrogation of Witnesses and Accused], Textbook series on criminology No 6/2, Berlin 1971, p 208.
14. See, for example, the Supreme Court Presidium Resolution on the Greater Effectiveness of Criminal Proceedings of 7 February 1973--I PrB--112--1/1973--(NEUE JUSTIZ Supplement 1/1973 to issue No 5).
15. On the presentation of evidence in initial proceedings see F. Nagel in this issue.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

IDEOLOGICAL ROUNDTABLE EMPHASIZES LEADING ROLE OF PARTY

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1210 GMT 8 Jun 78 DW

[Excerpts from a roundtable discussion on topic number nine of the seminar of the party indoctrination program entitled "On the theory and policy of the further organization of the developed socialist society," with Wolfgang Schellknecht, party secretary, Karl Liebknecht Transformer Plant, Berlin-Oberschoeneweide; Pro Guenter Heyden, director, Institute for Marxism/Leninism; and Heinz Winter, discussion moderator--recorded]

[Text] [Winter] We plan to discuss a topic today on which there is a lot of topical material. This includes the report to the the discussion speeches at the 8th SED Central Committee Plenum. A statement by the secretariat of the Central Committee on the work of the party organization in the Fritz Heckert Machine Tool Plant has been published, and the speeches by Erich Honecker on the occasion of the opening of the party indoctrination program last year and to the first kreis secretaries this year also dealt with the leading role and the tasks of the party.

But let us get to the report to the 8th Central Committee Plenum. The report, delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker on behalf of the Politburo, opens with the following passage: "Our party has done great work," and the whole report is evidence of that. It refers to domestic affairs, foreign affairs, detente efforts, world trade, and in especially great detail to our economic policy, hence, a great variety of immense tasks and burdens which the party is facing. Comrade Prof Heyden, why is it necessary for the party to pose programs and set the switches everywhere?

[Heyden] I think you cannot take any field of social development just by itself. Beginning with larger fields you must see that domestic and foreign policies, for instance, form an inseparable entity; the whole dialectics of these two sides must be purposively implemented. It is necessary to see that the most diversified problems exist in the country. There is the economy as the main field of our struggle; there is the whole problem of of the unity of economic and social policy, that is, the problem of implementing the sociopolitical measures. There is the whole problem of

changing the social structure of our society, which must be systematically and consciously guided. Education, culture, sciences--all this must be organized uniformly with a view to implementing the decisions of the 9th Party Congress. And this can be done only on the basis of scientific strategy and tactics as developed, for example, in the documents of the 9th Party Congress and also in the program of the 9th Party Congress for the current period. I think that if we take a look at the documents of the 8th Plenum we will find that this really constitutes a comprehensive and productive exchange of experiences on all fields of our social life and on the question: How does the party live up to its leading role in these fields?

And I believe that anyone reading this carefully will find that the 8th Plenum is elucidating the problems raised in the speech of our party's general secretary to the first kreis secretaries, that it is the principal task of the party to lead people and that, consequently, its ideological work with the people has been clearly shown as the core of this work at this plenum.

[Winter] It is the party's main task to lead the people. Comrade Schellknecht, people are being led in many places. I think we may say that a teacher leads his grade, that is, adolescents, and a foreman leads his collective. Now we also say that the party must lead people. What is the difference?

[Schellknecht] If Comrade Heyden has stated here that it is the task of the party primarily to educate people, to lead people, then this is the foremost real task. It begins in the management of the party organization and continues down to the last party group in an enterprise. What matters is to make the tasks which the plant has to fulfill plain to the working people, not just tell them that they are simply facing economic targets but to show above all the political significance, the reasons why these targets must be met under any circumstances, to show what role the supplier deliveries or the finished products play in the national economy, how they enter into the great reproduction process of our republic. All this must be shown so that, as Friedrich Engels put it, the task will have passed through the minds before it starts hands moving, so that everybody knows why he is doing this job and how he must do it.

[Winter] I think that the statement on the report delivered by the party organization of the Fritz Heckert Plant to the Secretariat is a brilliant example of what you have just said.

[Schellknecht] I think that it is excellent that our Secretariat of the Central Committee has publicized in the DAILY PRESS directly a statement on a report of a basic organization, because this publication, these conclusions drawn on this report, are direct guidance for action.

[Winter] I deem quite valuable what has been said quite concretely in the statement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. It mentions, for example, the issuance of concrete, accountable party assignments which are subject to control. What party control means to the comrades is to create in the party collective a climate in which forward-urging modes of thinking and deportment will form. Party control does not confine itself to deadline control.

[Schellknecht] That hint is particularly significant because we are not just concerned about meeting certain deadlines; the main thing is the fulfillment of the task. As regards party control, our party leadership, together with Erich Honecker, pointed out as early as in February that substantial problems ought to be handled more urgently, such as guiding people in carrying out their tasks. A determination must be made as to whether the state official gave all members of the collective the possibility of fully using their abilities and skills. Did he see to it in the distribution of tasks that an expert in one field really could use all his potential in that field and that a specialist in another field could use his skill in his respective field? The people must feel through the guidance and the instructions that all their skills will be properly challenged and used. That improves the pleasure of work. Wherever a comrade can directly use his skill in carrying out his task, party control must be set in. It must continue in the management of the department's party organization and in the management of the entire basic organization. Work must be done continuously, based on the experience of individual comrades and workers.

It is, for instance, most important that the working people without party affiliation feel that party members are including them in the control process and that they can handle certain detailed tasks although they are not party members. They must feel that the party is trusting them and that this confidence is not just anonymous, but that it is Comrade Fritz or Comrade Willi who has that confidence and who is including them in party work. That is certainly easier said than done; I know how difficult it is. But this is what we consider increased fighting power. The party organization is clearly stressing the political-moral unity of people and party demonstrated by human relations within the smallest work collective.

[Heyden] If we consider control not just as deadline control, but control pertaining to the content of tasks, I think it will be possible for a party organization to find out how party members develop to become socialist personalities in carrying out certain tasks. In addition it will be possible to see how relations between people will become of an always more socialist character. I think that whenever one escorts foreign visitors through the German Democratic Republic, giving them an opportunity to see industrial and agricultural enterprises, they are particularly impressed by the relations existing between the people here.

[Winter] It was expected that the opponent would not keep quiet when our 8th Plenum was meeting. One of the remarks, I think it came from RIAS [Radio in the American Sector (of Berlin)], said that whenever the party has economic difficulties it steps up party education and ideological influence exerted on the people in order to overcome the difficulties. Is that the purpose of our party education, Comrade Schellknecht, Comrade Professor Heyden?

[Schellknecht] First of all, you cannot expect anything else to come from our class enemies than polemics against such significant statements made by our party leaders. In doing this they are trying to pin difficulties on us

in wishful thinking. I think though that the approach to work is most important, the approach of man to his job and to the property of the people. It is not merely a matter of saying, "this is a state enterprise or a department of a state enterprise." We have achieved a situation in which the people consider it their own property and they are working accordingly. And this feeling of owning property, expressed in millions of ideas and initiatives, in billions of savings achieved due to innovation activities, all that of course infuriates our class enemies. It is, therefore, quite natural that they are trying to shape their polemics accordingly and that they are trying to claim that we want to change the people so that they will not see the difficulties anymore, instead of saying correctly that the people will eliminate the difficulties once they have realized the source of them.

[Winter] Comrade Professor Heyden, Comrade Schellknecht just mentioned the term "awareness of property." Does that have something to do with patriotism, with the approach to the state?

[Heyden] Certainly, I think that is one of the most significant matters resulting from this objective situation of the worker in a socialist society. He is not just in possession of the property of the people. He is also the one who exerts power in the state, and you can really say that it is his state, his country, and his fatherland. He is making history, he has been building this country for almost 30 years now--the German Democratic Republic. I think that we can (proudly) show to the whole world what we have jointly achieved.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON UNREST AMONG GDR YOUTH

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German No 21, 19 May 78 p 7

[Article by Marlies Menge: "Youth In the GDR--Recalcitrant Through Sheer Boredom--Ideological Immersion From Crib to Assembly Line Makes Youth Rebellious]

[Text] The vehemence of the GDR's reaction could have scared the daylight out of the West German journalists. And they had merely done their job. Eyewitnesses had informed them of unrest in Wittenberge in Mecklenburg on 1 May, and they had filed reports on it. GDR authorities called it a "false report" and warned the journalists with a vehemence that seems out of proportion with the events reported on. Displeasure supposedly had been expressed about interships and high prices in the delicatessen, and 20 persons, mainly young persons, had been arrested during clashes with the police. Whatever may have happened, one thing is sure: there exists a potential for unrest, at least among the GDR youth, which meanwhile is being reported not only by allegedly malicious West German journalists.

Early this year, the GDR pedagog Gerhart Neuner, president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, wrote in SPEKTRUM magazine that such an unrest potential made youth "susceptible to enemy influence." He deserves credit, though, for blaming his own learned guild for it. Teaching and lessons often had failed in exercising an ideological influence on the youth, he said. The young people, "because of the stereotype repetitiveness of basic ideological issues were turning themselves off exactly where they ought to be listening." A 14-year-old arriving home from school: "We had an hour off today, and then the social science teacher gave us this spiel again about fascism . . ." And he makes a face as if nothing could disgust him as much as the talk about fascism. "Isn't that awful?" groans his father, and he is a dedicated anti-fascist who still regards the GDR as the antifascist German state par excellence

When young people tell West German visitors why they would like to take a trip to the West but would then want to return, one of the first reasons give for returning is always the social security in the GDR. At the same time, however, they will complain about how early their life gets cast in concrete: day care center, kindergarten, where ideological instruction

starts, their school, where it gets intensified. The expanded secondary school, which leads to highschool graduation, is reached usually by only two students of every tenth grade. When both parents are workers-- party work counts here too--it usually helps in getting ahead. Along with the grades it is ideological firmness that counts the most. "Our state fosters hypocrisy," says one father who actually ought to be happy because his daughter, not last because of her active FDJ work, has managed to get into college.

Only few enjoy the privilege of 12 grades plus college. Most of them start working after 10th grade. Not everyone finds his dreams come true. Then comes the monotony on the job, which even the GDR press cannot hide. An assembly worker from Wittstock complains in *TEMPERAMENTE* magazine: "Everything is so monotonous here that you sometimes feel bored."

Maybe that the idealistic education makes the young people perceive the gap between the ideal and reality all the more keenly: "The basic problem is with the people . . . , if they would only look at us as human beings sometimes, and not just as workers. There they sit at their machines, that is all right, they are just working, day after day, but they should take them for human beings once in a while. Or why we don't manage this or that. Then they always say we are loafing or something." It is against the respect for authority when this worker goes on to say: "I mean, you know, if perhaps somewhere there would be the opportunity, here, I mean, that you could truly-- that is--always be truthful, even when talking to your boss, that would then sometimes look much better . . . "

In the enterprise ideological indoctrination continues. That goes together with the call for voluntary social activities, which often brings on yawns and nothing else. "There are 56 of us in the brigade," one young girl says, "and three of us go to the theater once a year, which is then recorded in the brigade book, and at the year's end the brigade gets praised for its social activities."

Boredom may produce resignation as well as recalcitrance. An innocuous example: After having been at a discotheque, an adolescent takes two beer glasses out of his pocket and throws them with a bang onto the street where they shatter: "So that something finally happens!" Of less innocuous cases of recalcitrance one can read in court reports. *WOCHENPOST*, for instance, tells of the 15-year-old Manuela, from a good family, who kept staying away from home and cutting classes: "Her favorite hang-out is Alexanderplatz. There she meets other girls. And they find gentlemen there, citizens as well as foreigners, and the borderlines between flirtation, affection and prostitution get somewhat blurred there." Together with a 17-year-old girlfriend she divests one of the men the girlfriend had brought home of M 900 and \$ 170. Others get mixed up in brawls, pick up things in their plant, or commit burglaries. Like the three boys from protective families who broke into a block where mainly foreigners had apartments, stole the vinha verde from the closet of a Portuguese lady, who had had much trouble getting the wine out of Portugal, and then sold it at the next corner for M 3.50 per bottle.

And they probably did not do it so much for the money but for the kicks.

The Union Fans (devotees of a Berlin soccer club) are considered notorious rowdies in East Berlin. Many of them are on police record and have to report every month to the sector agent of the People's Police. They take railroad trains apart, for instance, when the team comes home after playing out of town. Whenever there are rumors of cases of unrest, their name is mentioned.

The young people are not likely to take to the street to overthrow the system. How things start is usually quite harmless. There is a tavern, and when the boys have had enough to drink they become noisy. "When you write the young people had been shouting 'Russians, scram!' as was the case at the most recent national holiday on Alexanderplatz, it really sounds like something. But what they actually wanted was nothing but listening to the GDR beat band rather than Soviet folklore groups." Even so, whenever the police interfere the whole thing seems to escalate and the young people become obstreperous, which can be frightening.

Along with ideological satiation and boredom, there is all sorts of coercion imposed upon the youths, which sometimes makes them go too far or makes them resigned. Gerd K. got ulcers in the army, needed surgery and was put down as sick for months. He had been stationed on the border and was living in constant fear that someone might appear within his range on whom he would be compelled to fire.

The case of Joerg S. may not be typical of the GDR, yet it is not unique: As a young man he protested, by distributing fliers, against the Soviet invasion of the CSSR, he was imprisoned and, when he was released, made several requests to be permitted to leave the country, which were all rejected. Today he barely makes a living as an unskilled laborer. "No prospects," he says, yet he still hopes one day they will let him leave.

Not that the state ignores its youth. Erich Honecker, the SED party boss and former FDJ chief, seems to care especially about the well-being of youth. All the Western entertainers, like Roy Black and Katja Epstein, jazz groups like the Beatles-Revival-Band, Klaus Doldinger's Passport, or the Stan Getz-Bob Brookmeyer Sextett, are to make it easier for the young people to identify with a state in which those artists make appearances. "When a child is ten, he notices something is forbidden," says an East Berlin father, "at the age of 15 at the latest, he has learned that he must become 65 years old to be allowed to enter the other part of the city, the western part of the world altogether. That can make you flip." His 17-year-old son had been interested in entirely different things: "Is that what you call socialism: your driving a VW Rabbit and mother pouring West German salad dressing on our vegetable?" As it is, the generational problem is less in evidence in the GDR than in the West; parents and children are rather squawking together about their omnipotent state.

The youthful critics of the left are the ones who complain about the disintegration of ideology through intershops, "Rabbits" and delicatessens. Yet they are also the ones who usually find themselves more willing than their quarrelsome contemporaries to take into account the difficulties the state has: "The GDR is in a difficult situation, quite a particular situation historically and geographically. And what would actually be the alternative for Honecker's more relaxed dealings with the West--which simply include jeans, Volkswagens and Intershop. A complete cutoff from the West, the wall still 5 meters higher and then, ideologically, 'pass the ammunition' against the class enemy!"

5885

CSO: 2300

HEATED ATMOSPHERE AT KADAR'S DEBRECEN PARTY AKTIV DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Istvan Koncz and Janos T. Rac: "We Shall Do What Must Be Done--With Janos Kadar in Hajdu-Bihar Megye"]

[Text] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of our party, was a guest of Hajdu-Bihar Megye for 2 days this week. The objective reports and the daily dispatches, naturally, could give only little of the mood of the visit. So it is worthwhile to conjure this up.

This getting acquainted with Hajdu-Bihar was a working visit in the true sense of the word, so it is natural that the great theme of work and construction went through it as a guiding thread to the end. There was a moment characteristic of the interest of Comrade Kadar when he stopped at the upper end of the metal working line in the bearing factory because from there he could better see the operation of the equipment. In another part of the factory, in the stamping plant, he took a long look at the "windowing" of the bearing housings upon which Mrs Mihaly Talas, the operator of the machine, "windowed" such a part for the first secretary of the Central Committee. Comrade Kadar turned with this to Bela Czaban, the factory unit leader known throughout the factory for his innovative spirit, and said:

"Well, here is your latest task: You must mechanize somehow the monotonous and difficult hand loading of the housings to be worked."

The hosts provided a view, from the roof of a tall building, of the suburb, the size of a small city, being planned for more than 7,000 inhabitants. The first secretary of the Central Committee noted with appreciation that there was no sign here of the monotonous greyness so often found in house factory developments; the houses here are being built of rose colored, brown and yellow elements. Gyorgy Seres, construction industry director general, said: "The manufacture of these began at the time of the recent reconstruction of the Debrecen House Factory; the harmony of the pastel colors of the buildings is created on the basis of recommendations by designers specializing in this."

The city tour then led between applauding, waving lines of Debreceners in the neighboring, already constructed suburb of Venkert, which has 3,500 inhabitants. Arriving at the general school, which has 24 classrooms and is built in a manner worthy of tomorrow, Janos Kadar spoke with great satisfaction about the covered pool while watching the swimming lesson of the children. He observed jokingly: "If this program were a bit more relaxed I too would swim a bit in this beautiful pool."

When visiting the Red Star Producer Cooperative in Nadudvar the guests could become acquainted with truly imposing local achievements for this is the largest common farm of the country and in addition to being one of the chief initiators of the creation of the now two-year old Hajdusag Agricultural-Industrial Association it is also the system patron for the KITE [Corn and Industrial Crop Growing Cooperation].

Unanimous appreciation was elicited from the guests by what they saw on visiting the fields. In the course of this the host managed to find a way to demonstrate the wheat fields of the KITE also and they said that in the center of the production system alone there were 80 experts with a high level of training working for the swiftest possible practical application of domestic and foreign research results which promised success. For example, they are testing on the experimental fields of the KITE all the chief types of wheat grown throughout the world, with two exceptions, to see how they fare under Nadudvar or rather domestic conditions.

"Science does not exist," Comrade Kadar observed on seeing the results, "so that we will have something to try out on the people but rather contrariwise so that it should serve the prosperity of us all, the constant improvement in the standard of living of the people."

People know Janos Kadar as someone who likes to joke. So they joke with him too. At Nadudvar someone "complained" with a mischievous smile playing about his mouth:

"But Comrade Kadar, in addition to the achievements I personally have some serious problems."

"What sort of problems?"

"That I am not as young as I was let us say 20 years ago!"

The answer was a smile and a wink. There was no help for this. But then the guest turned serious: "He who can struggle together with the young people or he who can look back at his life and call real accomplishments and real deeds his own should never feel old in a socialist society."

At the aktiv meeting also there was stormy applause when he spoke about the close cooperation of three generations of communists, about their common struggle and within this about the healthy spirit and integrity of the

majority of the young communists of today. In the gymnasium of the general school in Venkert he congratulated the third grade little gymnastics champion Erika Korodi with an attention for the youth of tomorrow. Outside on the street, among many little children, when a toddler who did not yet go to school stumbled before him, he asked:

"Well, where do you work?"

"At kindergarten!" the urchin replied without any confusion or embarrassment.

It was about 6 o'clock Wednesday afternoon in the Debrecen factory of the Hungarian Rolling Bearing Works when the socialist brigade leaders sat down around the table in the conference room. They spoke one after another, speaking in a well-prepared and thoughtful way but avoiding all official form and rigidity, speaking without papers. Some spoke in quickly rolling round sentences and some spoke hesitatingly, meditatively.

Within minutes the solemnity and tension of the visit dissolved. The first secretary of the Central Committee obviously felt at home and he regarded them as does one worker when listening to another telling what he must struggle with day by day.

"I was thinking, comrades," he joined into the conversation, "that in essence you here are dealing with the same work as we in the Central Committee, building a developed socialist society. You here have mentioned several times various party resolutions. But you also know that a resolution, however good it may be, remains a dead letter in itself if there are not those like yourselves, collectives everywhere in the country and people in them who think through intelligently and with great responsibility what they themselves must do there on the spot for the realization of the resolution and then do what must be done with all their energy."

Signs of respect and love for Comrade Kadar were observable endlessly and everywhere from the first minutes of his arrival to the moment of his departure. And not only in those factories and institutions which he could visit. This feeling was also expressed by, as they say, the man in the street. During his brief walk about the city, wherever he went it was not only the lines of pioneers and little drummers in their red and blue neckerchiefs who were waving at him but also the passersby; in one building under construction work had to be stopped for several minutes while the builders greeted him from the windows. Many stopped him to present a carnation; they ran out from a clothing store with the guest book and asked him to write a few words in it; he was invited into another shop with gracious words, "come in and look around."

Many had long awaited him to visit Debrecen and Hajdu-Bihar. During his visit he himself said in several places, by way of apology, that he would have come earlier but in his place of work, the Central Committee, his

work time was rather booked up. But he also emphasized everywhere the indispensable nature of such visits. "We get enough reports, comrades, the information network is working well but nothing can take the place of the adventure and experiences of personal meetings."

Many elements of the visit were proof of popular national unity, of the uniting of society. This was succinctly formulated by the inscription at the aktiv meeting in the Bartok hall, a quotation taken from the 20 April party resolution: "Socialist national unity is an expression of the creative union of every class and stratum of society." But it was also expressed by the decoration made up of bearings, spikes of wheat and open books. Meeting with representatives of megye public life and thus with representatives of the intelligensia on Wednesday evening the first secretary of the Central Committee said, on the basis of his experiences at Nadudvar and in the bearing factory, that for us the intelligensia are not some separate stratum of society. Indeed, experts with university training are out in the fields, in the factories, at the construction sites and everywhere.

This same uniting was referred to by the closing sentence of the remarks which Janos Kadar wrote in the album of the reformed college, which already contains lines by many of the great of our nation:

"I hope that you will educate here also many diligent and faithful patriots to further increase and make happy the ranks of our people building socialism."

"It will be hot, comrades!" this was the first sentence into the microphone at the aktiv conference even before the address at the beginning of the speech. But it "got" the audience and the people looked around, what does this sentence mean, what does it promise? Perhaps it was just an apology for taking off his jacket and mounting the podium in his shirtsleeves. Outside the June sun beat down and Debrecen was bathed in steam after the thunderstorm of the night before; but it could not have been much cooler inside in the Bartok hall of the Golden Bull. There may have been 800 of us.

Then, as the minutes passed, the atmosphere became warmer and warmer not only physically but in another sense of the word, in correspondence to the initial promise. The mood heated up when the first secretary of the Central Committee reported on achievements, those of the nation and those of the people of Hajdu-Bihar Megye, the successes won in a struggle which was not easy but rather very hard, won sometimes after failures and mistakes.

But a warmth also suffused the hall when he talked about our problems and difficulties and common tasks, speaking about tasks and about the serious hard struggles before us not gloomily but rather self-confidently and freely; as at other times so now also there was no lack of humor or joking cracks. Just before the aktiv session he had visited the reformed college and perhaps this is why it occurred to the speaker to make an unexpected

comparison; that "biblical curse" namely that "you must earn your daily bread by the sweat of your brow" certainly applies to socialism too; we have no other opportunity but to win with increased work a peaceful life, prosperity and progress.

The audience streamed out, the 800 invited representatives of the communists of the megye were taking home instructions for the journey. Whatever comes hereafter, whatever awaits us, then, all of us in the months and years ahead it will apply to this work also: "It will be hot, comrades."

8984

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

DEPUTY PREMIER DISCUSSES OFFICIAL DUTIES, PRIVATE LIFE

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 30 Apr 78 pp 6-8

[Interview with Deputy Premier Istvan Huszar: titled "Conversation With Istvan Huszar, Deputy Premier" by Arpad Punkosti]

[Text] Even the 1972 Supplement of the New Hungarian Lexicon does not list his membership in the Political Committee and his current posts. Yet he is well known from newspapers, television, and radio: he opines freely. He lists as his witnesses Attila Jozsef, Gyula Illyes, and Anatole France -- poets, writers, scientists -- "whose respect doesn't come from the title." Along with crystallized principles and views, he has "follies for domestic use" which he doesn't readily reveal although they are instructive in their playfulness. He doesn't like to be written about but he also objects to a lack of personality: "A leadership should have a personal color even as no one plays personal politics." In two installments, we conversed seven hours, first in his office on the eighth floor in the Planning Office, then at home so we could photograph him among his family. His daughter, a university student, "escaped" the picture-taking. We understood her: she doesn't want to get ahead as somebody's daughter. Istvan Huszar is sensitive about accuracy: both times he brought the Hungarian and international statistics and the current year's plan pocketbook with him to the conversation. He is 57 years old. His wife Maria is also an economist. When her husband became the director of the OTH [National Planning Office] she left the office where she worked for 20 years and transferred to the Institute of Planned Economy.

[Question] You planned to be a teacher and became a deputy premier. Politics carries no pension and occasionally the necessity of healthy change in leaders comes up. What other callings do you have?

[Answer] I did not prepare to be a politician but I was interested in politics and started to serve an ideology and politics quite early. I did not aspire to this job either and, although I like it, although it excites, occupies, and interests me, there are days when I have it up to here; if this job were filled by competition, I wouldn't apply for it! The science of statistics developed a great deal since I left the university but I think that after a little preparation I could return to be an instructor or assistant professor. I think now I wouldn't be hurt, I would like that, too. To learn! There are so many unknowns! Planned economy is the invention of socialism; its history is 60 years old, in Hungary hardly over 30 years. Even these 30 years' experiences have not been properly analyzed. It is not worth to live to fill a post. One doesn't need a rank to find a worthwhile job.

[Question] Statistics is our daily bread -- but bread by itself is a dull diet. If we regard a 5 percent increase of the GNP as the triumph of socialism, we do not know what to do about an occasional good report from a capitalist country. The nonsocialist countries develop also -- why is our world better?

[Answer] Socialism is not better because of what it represents in certain areas of production or social processes or because it is of a higher level. It is better because it is able to develop the whole of society harmoniously, as it is free of exploitation. The Marxist life idea is the person developing many sides. Capitalist society is not able to do this. The international comparison of our results gives a sense of the level reached so far but these comparisons can't be viewed singlemindedly even if they show us to advantage. It is not sure that it is socially more useful whether the GNP grows by 32 instead of 28 percent in five years. There was a period when an 18-20 percent growth sharpened social contradictions and a more modest growth increases social harmony. Doesn't history give examples? We shouldn't, though, feel that we are off the hook in all comparisons that are not favorable to us! E.g., we are significantly behind the leaders in productivity but even this fact can't be analyzed just by itself. For the economy, I have two taboos: one is social stability and the other is international prestige. There are many other political premises but I regard these two as primary. In the Marx Memoirs, Lafargue wrote that economics will be an unequivocally-defined science when it can be expressed quantitatively by mathematics. I agree: we should measure the unmeasured but it is one thing to measure and plan and another to think beyond numbers... This is why I do not regard the motility of economic progress as the sole index of social progress.

[Question] Work ethics is a problem here that detracts from the ideal life. Everyone has a right to work here and we reject unemployment here because it is pathogenic for morale. But idling by the workbench is equally destructive! The social base is different -- but can the effect be the same?

[Answer] We have not found the right tools yet that help our social goals in labor-economy. We take a stand but we don't get to our goal. An exaggeration of life and earning security has the same results as life insecurity. Some of its social and economic contradictions is opposite to socialist principles even as they were created by the right social goals.

We, Marxists, the believers in work-value theory, regard work as the only source of values. It is our elementary interest to use it to give the maximum social result. Engels claims that it is the essence of socialism that labor and working time be allocated through planning. Here is a contradiction: everything is for the feeling, living, thinking human and yet he has to be used by economics. How? Labor administration is primarily determined by development policies, secondly by economic guides, and only thirdly by traditional labor economy. In my view the labor shortage publicly bemoaned here is overdone -- I often feel the complaints are just bluff. When there is no free labor source, the existing labor has to be redistributed -- this is the essential problem. Only one part of the labor force can be centrally mobilized, the rest has to be guided by indirect means. The art of social planning consists of finding these means. I am thinking aloud here because I, too, see the many unsolved problems of labor administration.

[Question] We heard "Our economic policy is unchanged" when the energy crisis was buffeting us. What good is it to say nice things? Our social goals are unchanged but were only their means, the policies changed?

[Answer] Those who speak only of the unchanging nature of our economic policy simplify the stand of our congress'. The main political line is unchanged even though certain things have to be changed or discarded. The question surprises me because nowadays, and especially since comrade Kadar's Dunaujvaros campaign speech, we increasingly try to add to our national self-knowledge and speak openly about our problems and economic situation. Gyula Illyes writes in his poem "Bartok": "We have the right to face what we can't avoid. For those who hide it increase the trouble." And Anatole France, in his foreword to Jack London's "Iron Heel," claims that those who foresee the possibilities of the future have the duty to show all its dangers'. Viewed this way, there isn't much to be criticized in our economy: we are going in the right direction also in social problems, health, etc. It is important to speak of everything in the way society understands.

[Question] ... and it shouldn't take a list of five achievements to cite a single fault!

[Answer] This is stupid: serious guidance can't demand this kind of weighing and balancing'. The main thing is to influence people in the right direction. We, too, have to learn to manipulate public opinion. I know this is a sensitive point and there will be people who yell because

we got used too much to the negative aspects of this expression. Let us speak openly: if it is possible to influence and guide public opinion on behalf of a bad cause, why should it not be allowed for a good cause? Some of this takes place in connection with the new National Theater. What shape are our theaters in? At Budapest alone, the Opera House is in dangerous condition. Rain falls in the Madach Chamber Theater, the Erkel, Vig, and Attila Jozsef theaters need reconstruction, and the Jozsef Katona Theater has been closed for years. We should have a National Theater -- but should we allow the deterioration of the theaters of our nation? I am for the building of the National Theater but not at this price. Comrade Aczel told me the other day: "I'd like to go with you to the new National [Theater]!" "And I'd like to go with you to the Katona," I replied. We both know that the decision hasn't yet been made; this, too, has to be decided when the Sixth Five-Year Plan is accepted. Some say it is our national character to start everything at the same time: "Let's start on it and it'll be finished somehow!" This is how you build disappointments: the jerry-built school or factory, fighting technical interruptions. It makes me mad but I am not angry at the journalists who are the shock troops of agitation; they have been misinformed and I am sure that none of them would give the wrong information willingly, knowingly.

[Question] That is all? What if he has no talent? Why do we praise those who have no ill will, don't shirk work, and are not alcoholics? Isn't the yardstick low?

[Answer] I agree. It is low. "Measure yourself against the universe," says Attila Jozsef. The world measures us, if not against the universe, at least against the international yardstick. There is no allowance made, no pat on the back; it is not enough to jump just a little farther than last year. We pay a lot where we don't measure up. It is no pleasure to accept a five-year plan which projects an increase of 30-32 percent in the GNP but only 22-24 percent in internal consumption because the rest has to go abroad to cover purchases. The difference is obviously due to the fact that Hungarian work is valued less on the world market than before. This can't go on forever: we and our work must be measured against the best and our economic control system has to transmit the grip of the world economy. For the permissive, the unacceptable appears good and the mediocre as excellent. The matter is complex: the world economy changes today but we must be guided by the conditions that will be valid on the day after tomorrow! The world judges only in part by the workbench; the workman may do a good job but the machine whose part he fabricates is itself obsolete. The machine itself may be good but the salesman is not good. But even if he is good, the deal may fall through because of poor service.

[Question] What is the better labor policy: to defend the worker today and tomorrow or not to coddle him and let him fail so that he will be stronger and more successful the day after tomorrow?

[Answer] Real labor management can only be long-term -- but it has to be fought for today! I say it for the future that our demands are lower than the international yardstick. If everyone can fulfill it, mediocrity wins and no one falls. It is not bad when a company has to be occasionally rescued. The state pays on these occasions but it also says: you should make an effort, also. We appoint a receiver who will guide; we attach strings to the support.

[Question] What are your chances in individual decisions?

[Answer] I have to decide sometime important questions. I think it is natural and I am not afraid of it. Of course it would be more comfortable to hide behind a committee but I cannot do it. Naturally I have to decide within the goals set by the plan but very occasionally we depart from the plan. It is relatively easy to explain a different number in the plan but not a different concept. At the time the plan is presented we don't yet know the correct figures for the previous year. E.g., lately the number of pigs was higher and the corn crop was lower than what we planned for the fall. We had to decide whether to kill the pigs or export less corn -- or, to keep the export markets, maintain exports and buy corn. We have similar decisions every week.

We examined the decision-making process on the government level. We found that the delay in decisions is not as grave as decisions based on bad data. The content and level of decisions had to be changed -- which is harder. Based on this, the role of the planning committee and office grew. I have to live with this.

[Question] What happens when you make a mistake?

[Answer] One gets a lot of warnings. It is a big fight even now to confess the past, e.g., to the Central Committee, about last year's results. We will never be clever enough to have complete accord between the plan and reality (in any case, the plan does not have to copy reality but should only determine its planned influences). If the plan was good why did we not act to reduce divergence? If we made a mistake someplace, why did we? Reality always tells! If they determine the planning office's responsibility, I determine mine in it, I think, with good self-criticism. Then I expect that others also speak with self-criticism and responsibility. Occasionally the effect is the reverse: "At last there is a responsible party, why go further?" It is hard to take when I accept something self-critically and then they rub my nose in it. Fortunately this is very rare.

[Question] Why don't we know anything about the work of the ministers? While they are alive, all of the changes take place with a "recognition of merit" and public opinion is blamed when it regards all transfers as firings.

[Answer] A responsible man can be part of a business only if he is well-informed. The mystery concerning management thus has to end. I can't tell exactly how this is to be done: we don't have experience in this. We are only being schooled in society guidance. This is the way to progress, though, no matter how painful. I find the question especially important in the economic field but we don't cancel the power of social control elsewhere either. The basis of our politics is national, popular unity which also means common thinking and load bearing. The leaders and the followers cannot be separated.

[Question] He who gives ten times more to society than his fellow gets twice as much salary -- if he is lucky. Why should one work well?

[Answer] The income differences are determined by social elements. Using only a little exaggeration, one's income depends on the size of one's family. Let us pick two couples who earn the same pay. One has two children, the other has none. Significant change will occur only when society can undertake more than the 20 percent that it does now toward the upbringing of children. We know that pay policy should reflect the result, complexity, and responsibility of work, more than it does now. We have to change our thinking some; in our experience, a large part of society is not for bigger wage differences. Also, there are some who demand pay according to work but insist on unchanging consumer prices. This can't be done; if prices do not reflect true values, the work expended, then we "tax" or "pay" people according to their buying habits and not their work. Not all this can be foregone but a strong attachment to rigid prices makes larger wage differences harder to achieve.

One more thing: It is hard to increase wage differentials if we can only increase wages by 2 percent. One needs a certain movement in the economy and the wages, etc. The problem is complex because the labor situation also favors wage equalization and not differentiation.

[Question] A Hungarian scientist proved that economic development depends primarily on the training of the people. Yet we hear that we are among the last in Europe in expenditure per person.

[Answer] These comparisons can be deceptive. Changing the method of calculation would change the results without any extra expense! It is no accident that the education plans were made after the system of economic guidance was changed. We need people who can renew themselves, who can develop. The main element of progress, the working man, must be made ever more useful so as to speed up economic growth. The economic difficulties are well-known but we still have the following priorities in social consumption: (1) the home; (2) child care -- primarily the general school network and apprentice-training institutions; and (3) improvement of mass transportation. This means that, although there is not glut of money, we spend more here than in any other area of public expenditures. These

priorities, I must confess, do not remedy the significant backwardness of public health or education and entertainment. We hope we can change these also in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The companies carry out significant education programs also. It is to their advantage to have workers with good general education who can renew themselves. This is why I support off-campus classes; but general school education is not the companies' job. Training skills and teaching workers to be experts and specialists is where they can excel; these are partly or wholly their jobs. We are also thinking of long-distance [correspondence course] development of the educational system. The concept that everyone should have a 10-year school diploma which can be followed up by a school system that either trains for further education or for a trade, is gaining. This will end the stress of choosing a career at 14.

[Question] Is culture a product?

[Answer] Fortunately, the mythical, supernatural power of these catchy sentences is on the wane. Because, if under socialism, culture is not a product, why don't we give it away free? It behaves as a product, it has a cost, and it is not sure what is cheap is valuable and what is costly is only tolerated, perhaps junk. Why did the question come up at all? Because its development, the dissemination of culture is in the interest of society as a whole. It is closely linked with our loftiest political goals: without it there is no man who can develop many facets. Socialist production cannot be conceived without high cultural and intellectual levels. Wealth and culture are not mutually exclusive. This is why the state, independent of individual decisions, assures a basic cultural level through compulsory and free general-school education or through the gradual spread of mandatory one-year kindergarten. Other rulings also help the spread of culture, such as free admission to the museums on free Saturdays. It is important to price cultural services and products just right: a naive, altruistic-appearing policy would be damaging. There are signs that too much support backfires.

[Question] Wouldn't it be more democratic, better, if, instead, of the 40-forint theater ticket or 70-forint opera ticket subsidy, we'd supply free textbooks in the general schools?

[Answer] One doesn't cover the other. Sure, there is room for improvement. Actually, our textbooks are very cheap and so it hurts when they are wasted. I studied from books that belonged to the school library and I saw the names of preceding students in them. I'd like to emphasize that no one wants to save money for it -- which does not exclude the idea of more intelligent giving.

[Question] In a radio interview you mentioned one of our articles. Do you have time for UJ TUKOR? How do you select from among the arts and reading matter?

[Answer] For ten years we have had season tickets to the opera. We go to a play at least three times a month; for an occasional exhibit we even go out of town. I cannot pick among reading matter: human curiosity carries me to books. I look into all poetry volumes. My view is that planning and poetry are related. This, too, needs fantasy, just like poetry. One has to follow strict rules; every word, rhythm, rhyme, adjective has to be in its place; important, lofty thoughts have to be expressed succinctly.

Luckily, we live on the ground floor, so they deliver the dailies and that wakes me at 0515. By the time I get to the office, I have seen all the papers. I read very fast; the disadvantage is that I can't note the names in the foreign books. In UJ TUKOR I like the "Weekly Offer." I found much good writing in Endre Illes's short-story selection and I like the reports with literary quality. Leaders can't miss the average but the sense of the average is the departure from it. The art of politics resides in what departures does it allow from the average and what direction -- which of course influences the average. Art helps a man not to think in a rut. The reports help in showing the departures, the strange, the off-beat.

[Question] A healthy spirit resides in a healthy body. Do you have a sport or a hobby?

[Answer] I don't know whether to envy or pity the person who has only one hobby. I don't engage in any sports. Earlier, we hiked all over the country with a rucksack. Nowadays, even if I get home at 2200, we still take a walk. (Maria, laughing, lifts her husband's garden-worn palm.) I did not want a garden -- why go always to the same place? But I like it now a lot. While watering, I prepare for the next week without effort.

[Question] What kind of Hungary do you see from your office at the OTH?

[Answer] Looking South I see the Freedom Monument on Gellert Hill which reminds me of the beginnings of our society. To the right is the Palace, the decisive historical reminder. When the weight of our past starts to oppress me, I turn a little to the left: there is the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, custodian of scientific progress. To wake me up to reality, I look a little more to the left and I see the unfinished office building on Roosevelt Square...

All joking aside, I believe that Hungary will have a relatively decent economic development. An annual increase of 5-6 percent in the GNP doubles it in 12-14 years; hence, by the turn of the century, the national income can grow three, four-fold. We can handle three to four times the amount of today's income: the results are unforeseeable! Remember, the future we envisioned in 1945. Reality is even better and of a higher order. Our



Deputy Premier
Istvan Huszar

opportunities multiply the same way. 'Our life will be different'. Thinking of this, we expanded our job to another area: we are planning life styles. Surely there will be naiveness in our dreams but we should not lose sight the main thing. Today, as we are still talking about our economic troubles, the future should be kept in mind: a future which is worth fighting for with devotion.

[Question] Thank you very much. Enjoy your gardening.

10,101

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

MEMBERS OF ETHNIC GROUPS PRAISE NATIONALITY POLICY

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 May 78 p 4

[Interview with the director and students of a bilingual school for ethnic students by Katalin Kende: "Bilingually in One Country"]

[Text] My mother belongs to a Slavonic ethnic group. During my childhood, I heard hardly any Hungarian at home.... Already in grade school, I harbored the desire to become an educator. When I became an eighth grader, I considered seriously which subject I could teach with joy and enthusiasm. I chose my mother tongue.

That is the reason why the 18-year-old Maria Anna Nemeth came from Mohacs to Budapest, to the Serbo-Croatian school 4 years ago.

Not Only a Study Subject

Nearly 200 youths live in the old building. Smaller ones, still in grade school, and older ones, like M.A.Nemeth, high school students. They came from the megyes of Zala, Baranya, Bacs-Kiskun or even Pest, with their provisions from home: love of their mother tongue. In their heads, still dormant in the little ones, already conscious in their older schoolmates, is the ambition to nurture their own ethnic culture.

During breaks in the hallways, here-and-there, rapid foreign words are heard. The bulletin on the wall is bilingual. The school paper is printed in Serbo-Croatian. As a rule, the discussions and debates are conducted in their ethnic tongues at the KISZ (Hungarian Communist Youth League) meetings as well.

In this manner, even the student coming from the furthest nook of the country finds a truly second home here in Budapest on Rozsak Square. In this ethnic educational institution--there are 22 in the country--the mother tongue is not merely a subject but the fundamental tool of educational pedagogy.

The office of Istvan Vuity, director, contains South-Slav mementoes, gifts, the shelves are lined with Hungarian and Yugoslavian books. The director recalls the history of the school.

Our predecessor, the Serbo-Croatian lycee, opened its gates in 1946, in Pecs, with seven teachers and four students.... Two years later, the academic high school was also already in operation. Soon after, we "moved" to Budapest. In 1954, those attending primary school were also transferred here. The year 1960 was a milestone in our lives. The teacher's college was closed and we switched over to bilingual education. Humanistic subjects are taught in the students' mother tongue, sciences in Hungarian. The change in languages may pose problems to educator and student alike.

Bilingualism is a factual objective in the educational pedagogy of the ethnic youths. A suitable method of teaching it jointly has not as yet evolved, adds the director. In any case, it means added work. The mother tongue undergoes evolution, changes and so does the domestic, the Hungarian too, of course.

They Dance Around the Country

We must cultivate the mother tongue with great care, help the children grow to love it, because through it alone can the individual culture and the appreciation of traditions deepen and it can be a source of a healthy ethnic consciousness. It is no overstatement to say that the prerequisites for the survival and development of individual nationalities are primarily in the hands of the school and of education. They learn it here, it reaches their consciousness gradually during the student years. The language may be different but the nation is one. In this common nation, the future of ethnic groups also depends on the structure of the socialist society. And this is being built jointly.

Istvan Vuity participated in the national conference of ethnic pedagogues, held recently.

He stated this was our first joint conference. All of us, Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, South Slavs agreed that today we can work under truly satisfactory, creative conditions. And we get all the help necessary. At the same time, we had opportunity to discuss the problems which affect all of us equally. For instance, there was quite a bit of talk about the absence of bilingual textbooks, and that the innovations made in domestic public education reach our ethnic school with delay of a year or two. This is unfavorable for our students.

You know, ponders Istvan Vuity further, we and the other similar educational institutions have another task at least as important as educational pedagogy. It is the spreading of a true ethnic culture and with it the evolution of a healthy ethnic consciousness. We have a very well-known cultural group. Every year, we travel throughout a given megye, read poems,

dance and sing. We reach the smallest villages where South Slavic tongues are spoken. We feel that this plays a role not only in the cultivation and maintenance of traditions but also in the spreading of the living language and literature from across the border since an ethnic group can hardly exist on the nostalgies of preserved folk art.

The Older Ones Could Help

Istvan Lukacs is in the fourth grade of gimnazium. His more immediate home: Totszerdahely.

"I finished primary school at home, attended poetry and reading competitions and also participated in various ethnic cultural movements. It did not even occur to me not to come to this secondary school. It seems that not all ethnic people truly feel their ethnicity. I see and know that there is a natural assimilation even in the smallest villages. This, however, is no reason to give up everything that binds us to our mother tongue. Rather, perhaps because of this, we must increasingly care for and cultivate the ethnic culture. The older people could help us a great deal. Istvan Lukacs plans to attend the Eotvos Lorand University, specializing in Hungarian-Serbo-Croatian.

I hope I make it, he sighs, then I shall probably return here.

Here?

Istvan Vuity spreads a large bunch of papers in front of me. Drawings of plans. The future home on Ors Vezer Square.

Maria Anna Nemeth smiling broadly and looking at her schoolmate Istvan Lukacs, I think that we will be at most small links in the bridge which will span nations and countries. I shall continue at Novi Sad with a scholarship. After graduation, I shall teach, "educate the population" wherever I am needed. In my mother tongue, here, at home.

2473

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY ESTABLISHED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 May 78 p 6

[Text] The Hungarian Sociological Society held its statutory meeting on Monday, at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. George Aczel, member of the Political Committee of the MSZMP, vice president of the Ministerial Council, was present. Also present were Karoly Polinszky, secretary of education and Mihaly Kornidesz, head of the Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Department of the MSZMP.

Following the opening by Gyula Eorsi, president of the Economics and Legal Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Janos Szentagothai, president of the academy, delivered a greeting to the new society which will function as part of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Imre Pozsgay, secretary of culture, delivered a lecture entitled: Sociology and Public Education. He stressed that the public education policy, while establishing as its primary requirement the synthesis of masses and quality, also formulated the activity principle to promote the satisfaction of this aim. According to this principle, the practice must be discontinued which, from a cultural aspect, divides society into a culture-producing, delivering, creative minority, and a passively accepting majority. Discovery of the roadblocks in cultural activity is particularly a sociological task.

The officers of the society were elected by the assembly. President: Sandor Szalay, academician, vice presidents: Ferenc Gazso, candidate, scientific advisor, scientific department head of the Institute of Social Sciences, MSZMP Central Committee, and Tamas Szecske, candidate, director of the Mass Communication Research Center. Elected as secretary of the society was Tamas Kolosi, candidate, scientific chief collaborator of the Institute of Social Sciences, MSZMP, Central Committee.

2473

CSO: 2500

POLAND

JOINT POLISH-NIGERIAN DECLARATION PUBLISHED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Jun 78 p 2 AU

["Joint Declaration By the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Nigeria"-- Passages between slantlines published in bold-face]

[Text] /At the invitation of Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, General Olusegun Obasanjo, chief of the Military Federal Government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, paid a 3-day state visit to Poland from Wednesday 7 June to Friday 9 June 1978.

/During the visit the chief of the Military Federal Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria had official talks with Edward Gierak, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, in the spirit of mutual respect and full understanding.

/Guided by the desire to expand and deepen mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries, both sides noted with satisfaction that the present state of relations between the two countries was very good and they expressed the resolution to accelerate the pace of their development and to strengthen these relations through the specialization and intensification of bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, social, scientific, cultural and legal fields.

/While expressing their deep satisfaction with the positive development of these relations, both sides agreed to promote their development in order to contribute to further deepening the existing friendship between the peoples of Poland and Nigeria.

/Aware of the importance of personal contacts and consultations between representatives of the authorities and societies, they are resolved to take further steps to expand mutual relations and cooperation, to strengthen international peace and security, as well as to seek solutions for various problems confronting the world.

/Both Sides Adopted the Following Declaration/

I

/Both Sides Confirm Their Common Will/ :

To expand and deepen the friendly relations of cooperation in all spheres of common interest and for this purpose to continue summit meetings, as well as exchanges and contacts at other levels:

To intensify their bilateral political and diplomatic cooperation, including in the international arena and at the United Nations forum;

To expand and intensify their multifaceted economic and technical cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage by suitable means and in appropriate forms, including by means of the proposed joint Polish-Nigerian Commission, in order to make better use of the material and human resources at their disposal, to develop economic cooperation, as well as to expand and diversify trade exchanges for accelerating economic development in their countries;

To develop and deepen their cooperation in the field of science, culture, art, education, sports and tourism in order to deepen understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two states;

To stimulate contacts, cooperation and the exchanges of experience between political, cultural and scientific organizations in the two countries.

II

In bilateral economic relations both sides stated that in the past few years ties between the two countries had significantly developed in the economic, scientific and technical fields, and particularly in the fields of mining, education, architecture and medicine. Both sides resolved to take steps to further strengthen and expand these ties.

/For this purpose the delegations of both countries held a number of talks at the ministerial level and resolved/:

To explore the possibilities for a closer cooperation, particularly in the field of ship building, port expansion, mining, geological surveying, the development of energy resources, agriculture, building materials industries, petrochemical and chemical enterprises, metallurgy and the production of industrial component parts;

To sign an agreement establishing a joint Polish-Nigerian Commission which, in addition to other tasks, would stimulate and control Polish-Nigerian cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields.

To promote Polish-Nigerian technical and scientific cooperation. In connection with this, a protocol has been signed calling for the training of Nigerian students in the selected technical and vocational fields at Polish institutions, as well as for employing Polish specialists in Nigeria in the fields of agriculture, technology, architecture, education, medicine and health services;

To continue to develop and diversify trade exchanges between the two countries, as well as to increase the share of each country in the economic and industrial development of the other country. Poland expressed its interest in purchasing Nigerian crude oil and other goods, and Nigeria in principle agreed to sell these goods in order to achieve a better trade balance between the two countries.

III

/Both sides solemnly declare their common will to build mutual relations and their relations with all other states on the following principles/:

They confirm their adherence to the cause of preserving world peace and security, as well as their confidence in the principles and goals stated in the United Nations Charter in order to strengthen the ability of that organization in the sphere of settling major problems confronting the current world.

They confirm their firm belief that international relations should be founded on the strict observance of the principles of national independence and territorial integrity, the inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in domestic affairs and of the renunciation of threat or use of force in the settlement of international disputes.

They confirm their will to continue consistent efforts to expand and deepen the detente process and to make it lasting, irreversible and general. They share the view that detente is advantageous for all states and should contribute to strengthening security, settling disarmament problems and deepening international cooperation. For this reason, they emphasize that peace and security are indivisible in all parts of the world.

They emphasize the importance of implementing the CSCE final document for improving the political climate in Europe. They also emphasize that the development of the positive process initiated in Helsinki is a factor of great significance for improving relations and developing cooperation in Europe on the basis of equal partnership, as well as for strengthening international security.

They express the firm belief that general and complete disarmament is urgently necessary. In connection with this they appeal to halt the arms race. This is an important and urgent task in the field of strengthening international peace and security. It is necessary to take concrete steps to end the nuclear and conventional arms race.

Both sides agree to act jointly to prevent the production of new mass extermination weapons, as well as to reduce armed forces and armaments in order to supplement the process of political detente.

They confirm their high appraisal of the United Nations role in and contribution to strengthening world peace, international security and peaceful co-existence among states. They also confirm their will to continue efforts to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations activity and to enhance the international prestige of this organization. They confirm their full support and loyalty to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter.

In African affairs, both sides express deep satisfaction with the present achievements and successes scored by the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation and independence, as well as against the forces of imperialism, neocolonialism and racism.

They confirm their full adherence to the cause of the complete elimination of racism, imperialism and colonialism, and their legacy in all parts of the continent. They condemn and reject without reservations the recent shameful internal settlement attained between Ian Smith and his proteges in Zimbabwe and irrevocably advocate the complete elimination of the brutal and illegal Ian Smith regime of oppression and repression. Any settlement of the Zimbabwe problem without the patriotic front is totally unacceptable for both sides.

They reiterate their support of the noble cause of the liberation struggle in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and call for redoubling the efforts by the national liberation movements aimed at self-determination and independence. Both sides fully condemn the frantic deliberate murders of the helpless civil population and innocent children by South Africa, which pursues apartheid, as well as the massive arrests of African patriots, which violate the fundamental human rights of the black population of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Both sides fully support the United Nations resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw from Namibia without any preliminary conditions. They also give their full support to the United Nations resolution banning the sales of weapons and military equipment to South Africa and prohibiting other forms of cooperation with that regime.

They condemn the recent sallies by South African troops against Angola and the repeated military attacks by the brutal racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia against the neighboring independent African countries--Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

Both sides reiterate that a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East conflict can only be achieved through the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and through the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab People, including the right to statehood of their own, and through a guarantee of the security and independence of all states of that region.

They acknowledge the role of nonaligned countries in the struggle for international peace and security, against the policy of imperialist aggression and intervention, for eliminating the vestiges of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

Both sides emphasize the need to intensify the efforts by the entire international public to attain an agreement leading to the establishment of a new economic order. They deplore that the present results of international economic cooperation have failed to attain agreed objectives aimed at putting into effect just principles of an international order promoting true economic cooperation among all countries on the basis of mutual advantage and equal partnership.

The chief of state of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanja, acknowledges the consistent and constructive foreign policy pursued by Poland and aimed at the consolidation of detente, international security and peaceful interstate relations in Europe and throughout the world. He highly assesses the comprehensive support given by Poland to the African peoples in the struggle for political and economic independence. He also expresses admiration for all the achievements by the Polish people in the country's socio-economic development.

The PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Edward Gierek, and the chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, Henryk Jablonski, deeply acknowledge the vigorous foreign policy pursued by Nigeria as a policy of peace, cooperation and friendship with all peoples, and the role played by Nigeria in strengthening solidarity and cooperation in international society.

They express their approbation for the accomplishments of the Nigerian people under the dynamic and wise leadership of the chief of state of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, in the process of the comprehensive economic development of Nigeria and in constantly improving the cultural and spiritual living standards of the people.

The Nigerian chief of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo, gave sincere thanks for the particularly friendly reception and warm hospitality for himself and his entourage during their visit to Poland.

/The chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic was accompanied by:/

F. Kaim, Council of Ministers deputy chairman; E. Wojtaszek, minister of foreign affairs; J. Olszewski, minister of foreign trade and maritime economy; A. Glazur, minister of construction and building materials industry; H. Konopacki, minister of chemical industry; F. Adamkiewicz, minister of the heavy and agricultural machines industry; E. Boratynski, chief of the State Council Office; L. Piatkowski, deputy chief of the CZPR Central Committee Foreign Department; S. Olesik, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission; E. Kaluga, under secretary of state in the Foreign Affairs Ministry;

R. Strzelecki, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy; W. Jurasz, Polish ambassador to Nigeria.

/His excellency the chief of the Federal Military Government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, was accompanied by:/

Brig. J. N. Garba, commissioner for external affairs; Col. M. Buhari, chairman of the National Petroleum Oil Corporation; Col. U. A. Mohammed, Sokoto State military governor; Commander D. Ikpeme, Ondo State military governor; Dr. R. A. Adeleye, federal commissioner for industrial affairs; Col. M. Magoro, federal commissioner for transport; Dr. O. Adewoye, federal commissioner for economic development; Dr. G. B. Leton, federal commissioner for information; Almajiri M. Arzika, director of the government chief's office; B. O. Awokaya, director of the European Affairs Department in the External Affairs Ministry; T. Olagunju, deputy secretary in the Government Chief's Office.

/Done in Warsaw on 9 June 1978 in two copies, in the Polish and English languages, the texts of both being equally authentic./

[Signed] Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; Col. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, chief of the Military Federal Government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

ATTITUDES, ASPIRATIONS, POTENTIAL OF POLISH YOUTH VIEWED

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 3, Mar 78 pp 24-31

[Article by Piotr Rządca: "Youth of the 70's"]

[Text] The post-1970 changes in our country are in part reflected in the party's new attitude toward Polish youth. The young generation became recognized as a subjective entity, a part of the society whose needs and aspirations must be included in all political, economic, and social calculations associated with the development of People's Poland.

The party has consistently endeavored to extend society's deepening political and moral unity to the young people so that they fully accept the party's program, take it for their own, and participate in its implementation. Likewise, the most mature section of Polish youth demonstrated the need to ally themselves with that political force whose program and activities most fully correspond with their aspirations, ambitions, and life expectations. The party was and continues to be interested in giving a direction to these aspirations and to rally all Polish youth to participation in the ongoing socioeconomic transformations of the country.

Facts of the Last Seven Years

A lot of the party's attention centered on the young generation over the last 7 years. Its needs were reflected in the plans for two successive 5-year periods. Youth problems found their expression in all resolutions of the PZPR CC plenary sessions. The party leadership held regular meetings with members of youth organizations and representatives of youth communities, attentive to their views and suggestions while at the same time presenting the party's postulates addressed to Polish youth.

At the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in February 1976, Edward Gierek said: "An important issue of major significance for further socioeconomic and political development of our country is represented by the search for correct solutions to problems of the young generation.... We are facing the task of full utilization of this tremendous reservoir of youthful energy, qualifications, skills, and the commitment of this generation to the continued socialist development of our country (...). This problem

centers on the determination of the perspectives for further socialist upbuilding, and the young people's participation and prospects in it. We must draft a plan for the development of socialist Poland which should direct the young generation toward new horizons and satisfy its multifaceted physical, cultural, and ideological-intellectual aspirations."

The theses "On the Young Generation's Active Participation in Building Socialist Poland--The Tasks of the Party, Government, and the Nation in Upbringing Young Persons" of the 1972 Seventh Plenum of the PZPR CC, which have been widely disseminated in the society and became the basis for a special law of the Sejm, were discussed in the meetings of all party units and organizations as well as in all subdivisions of the educational and upbringing system. They became a basis for the development of detailed programs of action.

As a result of the party's stand and the practical undertakings inspired by it, the last 7-year period witnessed appreciable advances in solving youth problems and in refining the party's ideological and educational influence on young persons.

Let us recall certain facts. The country's economic development permitted the creation of jobs for 3.5 million young persons whose professional ambitions are increasingly channeled to modern industry. Favorable conditions were provided for young farmers to become independent sooner. Young families became the subject of greater care than before. There was a significant increase in the number of student slots in higher educational institutions. The students' living conditions noticeably improved along with greater authority of student self-governments and their influence on college life. At the same time, vocational training was expanded and its programs were modernized so that qualifications of graduates would be better suited to personnel needs of the economy. Positive changes also occurred in secondary education as well, primarily thanks to reorganization of the rural education system, which gave rural children better conditions to start their lifetime careers. The Student Code was introduced in all schools. There was a considerable increase in resources allocated for recreation of children and adolescents. Meantime, fundamental decisions were made which will result in reform of the nation's educational system before the end of this year.

It should be noted for the record that establishment of the FSZMP [Federation of Polish Youth Socialist Unions] enhanced the unity of the young generation. Its influence on the country's political, economic, social, and cultural life increased, and its representatives are more numerous now in all organs of the people's authorities.

Who Are They? What Are Their Goals and Criticisms?

Attempting an overall portrayal of Poland's young generation is a risky venture, though it is necessary for finding out what values young Poles bring forward to the society and in which direction their attitudes should be transformed.

The risk centers on the fact that our concern is with a huge social group, diversified in age, background, environment, roles, and other factors. This group is undergoing ceaseless transformations of attitudes, aspirations, and behavior. As yet it has not been studied systematically as an entity.

Children and youngsters constitute more than half our society. More than 6 million of them are studying in schools of some sort, and 0.5 million are in higher educational institutions. Nearly 10 million persons are in the 15-29 age bracket. Three-fourths of them--in their productive age--have at least completed a vocational school, thus being better educated than the older generation. Young persons represent 60 percent of the personnel in nonprivate work establishments.

So far as youth membership in sociopolitical organizations is concerned, nearly 6 million belong to the FSZMP; 50 percent of highschool students are members of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], 80 percent of college students hold SZSP [Socialist Association of Polish Students] cards, one out of four persons employed in the national economy is a member of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth]. Additional figures can characterize the political attitudes of young persons: 53,000 joined the PZPR from among the ZSMP membership in 1976, while the total for the first three quarters of 1977 is by 10,000 larger.

This generation received more modern education than their parents. They enter the life of society with their consciousness raised to a higher level and with better understanding of our country's problems, primarily owing to their own mobility, schooling, and the impact of mass media. This generation has been raised in a society that is building socialism, and it wants to mold this society according to its own needs, concepts, ambitions, and experiences.

The young people's most important striving is for education and highest attainable professional qualifications. They also want to have creative jobs. They hope to base their social positions on education and jobs, and they consider job satisfaction to be an important factor in an individual's happiness. In their opinion, professional relationships should be primarily governed by an order of competence rather than hierarchy. They think about setting up a happy family, obtaining an apartment with modern furnishings, and spending their leisure time in an interesting manner.

They value social justice and equality. They attach considerable importance to personal dignity, understood as respect toward others, a sense of independence, and the right to optimize one's life opportunities. They do not want to confine themselves within their work establishments, social groups, or local communities: they are open to contacts with other social environments.

Of great concern for them are good interpersonal relations based on mutual trust, honesty, goodwill, and friendliness. They seek personal involvements, associating themselves in small informal groups. They have deep-felt emotions about formalism, the lack of personal contact between supervisors and subordinates, and all excesses of institutionalism.

They are optimistic, believing in the success of their lifetime plans and viewing their accomplishment as primarily dependent on themselves.

Evaluating the Polish youth only in positive terms might give rise to charges of one-sidedness and lack of objectivity. What is involved is not the traditional grumbling about youth. In the first place, criticisms must be leveled at parents, schools, and the society, the latter being primarily responsible for shaping the views and attitudes of young persons. Yet it is equally true that the behavior of some young people raises our apprehensions and induces reflection on the effectiveness of educational factors.

Thus, statements are occasionally made that some young people lack the sense of discipline and responsibility, that they do not want to "pull their weight" but hope, instead, to have everything done for them and expect to earn a lot right from the start. Jobs in industry, commerce, and the service sector are most often abandoned or switched by young persons. Disapproving comments are repeatedly made that job applicants' opening question is--what will I get out of this?--in a majority of cases. Views are expressed to the effect that a segment of Polish youth puts greater emphasis on instrumental rather than moral values. Their aspirations are said to contain too much egotism, pragmatism, and consumption-oriented attitudes in living and working. Their interests are limited to the world of material objects. Honesty and thoroughness on the job are not appreciated as a road to personal prosperity; instead, young people fawn on their superiors and play on their weaknesses to further their own careers and obtain promotions.

All of these charges probably contain a measure of truth, as we are dealing here with a large social group, exposed to the society's diverse ideological and moral influences and different adult models. Yet the charges should be viewed as objectively as possible. True, young people do seek high pay, but they prefer work establishments where greater care is taken about social matters, where the spirit of collaboration among coworkers is better, and the opportunities exist for personal development and promotion.

It is true that they want to earn a lot quickly, but it is the young persons who are pressured by basic material needs: founding a family, obtaining an apartment, creating appropriate conditions for life, work, and further study.

There is reason for some anxiety to be caused by somewhat delayed socio-political consciousness, especially among teenage students, with an occasional lack of a sense of responsibility for the choice of a career and future life. The origins of this state of things lie, however, in inadequate upbringing provided by the family and schools, in insufficient experience and social awareness which ought to have been inculcated by youth organizations, and in the limitations imposed by adults on school students' opportunities to make their own decisions and assume specific responsibilities at an early age.

Some young people are simply unable to give a concrete explanation of the meaning of such slogans as social justice, equality, democracy, and wellbeing. Apparently we too often use generalizations making no attempts to decode these slogans and anchor them in concrete historical settings. The narrowness in striving for material goods of which young people are accused can be the result of typical concepts, attributable to, e.g., reading the press, according to which the totality of our economic development is directed toward increases in the number of things, rather than social transformations or the establishment of material foundations for the citizens' harmonious personal development. Apparently we have failed to adequately clarify and document such a hierarchy of objectives and social processes.

Young persons who were raised under the socialist system know what they are entitled to demand from the state and what they should give of themselves to society. They consider themselves authorized to criticize negative social phenomena precisely because of the ideals instilled in them by adults. They are uncompromising in their assessment of manifested shortcomings, and they disassociate themselves from what they consider opportunism, backwardness or injustice. They vigorously object to the lofty words which adults overuse on occasion. They are offended by stagey exercises of simulated activity meant only for show and for puffing up a report to win plaudits.

They are especially sensitive to any kind of injustice in performance evaluations, e.g., cronyism in promotions. Poorly organized, needless, or ineffective work is strongly condemned by them. In their opinion shoddy work, loafing, and mock busyness should meet with explicit social sanctions. Young people also have reservations about their supervisors, managers, and people's councils, about their bureaucratism, marginally effective vocational training, poor organization of the adaptation of young workers to their jobs and participation in the life of enterprises or institutions employing them.

Notwithstanding all such criticisms, the Polish youth perceives and positively assesses the post-December 1970 changes, having experienced their direct impact on its situation and life opportunities.

Young people's views are dominated by optimism regarding the future. A deepfelt conviction prevails that we are capable of removing the negative phenomena and attitudes from our life. Young people are also aware that society expects from them concrete actions documenting their ideological commitment rather than declarations.

Ideology, Involvement, Partnership

The Politburo report to the Seventh Party Congress included the following statements:

"Poland's socialist development has opened broad prospects for social advancement of millions of young Poles. Polish youth increasingly benefits from the effects of socialist establishment, and growing numbers of young persons hold managerial positions in the economy, science, technology, and administration. This is a regular course."

"This imposes on the party the need to continually improve collaboration with Polish youth in order to enhance its preparation for the difficult responsibilities as masters of their native land. On the part of the young people, this calls for self-improvement, awareness of the objectives to be attained, total commitment to the establishment of socialism (...). It is the duty of all of us to create favorable conditions for Polish youth to continue the grand design of transforming Poland."

This brief excerpt contains the most important tasks of the party's ideological and educational work with young people. They are spelled out in more detail in resolutions of the CC plenums, especially those pertaining to the party's ideological activity geared toward consolidating the socialist consciousness and patriotic unity of the nation whose segment the young generation constitutes.

It is therefore justified to direct our attention to some particularly urgent problems and goals related to the ideological and educational activity.

Continued advances of socialist construction and endeavors to achieve imposed quality of work and disseminate the socialist way of life are increasingly forcefully conditioned by citizen attitudes. They are dependent on ideological involvement, civic activity, proper work motivation, readiness to take disinterested action if dictated by the society's needs, an ability to work in harmony with the collective, exhibiting critical and innovative attitude, exemplary performance of duty, and discipline. At the same time citizen attitudes must be purged from the residual bourgeois values, and increasingly vigorous efforts must be made to shape the socialist consciousness, which is of paramount importance under the circumstances of confrontation between the two major sociopolitical systems.

All of these general ideological and educational objectives apply to youth activity as well, although some specific issues are also involved.

By the very nature of things, the task of building a developed socialist society falls upon the young generation. In the history of our country, this is a historical role expanded in the era of scientific and technological revolution by the duty to strengthen the superiority of socialist solutions over the capitalist ones.

Young people must therefore be provided maximally concrete visions of development. They must be involved in the formulation of programs connected with these visions, while reinforcing in their consciousness the fundamental values of our ideology, and inducing them to feel proud of the tasks and prospects they are expected to accomplish. They must be led to perceive their own place and opportunities in the anticipated advances of the country and the society. They must become aware of the connections between the present educational, productive, and social activities with those developmental prospects.

Thinking about the future will expand their range of vision, enabling them to view our current problems in proper perspective and to perceive ways to solve these problems. It will also make the young people aware that it will fall to their lot to make new, difficult decisions, choices, and troublesome solutions resulting from their blazing the trail for social progress.

It is on the basis of these premises therefore that the young persons' attitudes must be molded to befit the objectives posed by the establishing of a developed socialist society, attitudes which will invigorate socio-economic development while helping perfect the socialist social relations in our country.

If we demand an active stance and commitment on the part of the youth--which is in Poland's and their own interests--we must be able to provide the answer when they ask for the sake of what ideals they are to be active and committed. In other words, it is the question about what is the expected shape of that future society that is the goal of our efforts, what in it will have changed for the better in comparison with the present, and what are the ideological assumptions of these changes. By showing to the young people the country's developmental prospects, we should strive to explain to them the gradual implementation of the socialist assumptions of our social system.

We refer, for example, to the program of "second industrialization of Poland." It is now becoming more concrete and lucid for the young people as well. They must be aware, however, what this industrialization is supposed to serve, and what social needs and problems it is expected to solve. Thus, they must be made aware that we are striving to eliminate the differences between rural and urban living conditions, that

industrialization of farming will contribute not only to increases in the amount of food but will also aid the social, civilizational, and cultural advancement of persons from rural areas. Also, that we endeavor to obliterate the distinctions between manual and intellectual work and to eliminate the strenuous, tediously mechanical, and health-imperiling jobs; that we want work to gradually assume creative aspects and become a source of greater satisfaction to people, their basic need and a mode of actualizing personal ambitions and individual development. Further, that we are trying to achieve social homogeneity of the nation, elimination of adverse differences in opportunities to start a lifetime career and in the possibilities to demonstrate predispositions, interests, and talents. Likewise, that we are committed to furthering the socialist democracy, expand the citizens' influence over all decisions concerning their communities and the entire country. Finally, that we will be creating the socialist model of wellbeing, a model of consumption in which the world of things will not camouflage the world of higher values from man.

It will be necessary to spell out in greater detail for the young people how we understand such fundamental concepts and principles of socialism as social justice, equality, and democracy, so that they become aware of what advances we intend to achieve in the actualization of these tenets and what are the material and social conditionings of progress.

Expectably, clearer association of our development programs with the ideological assumptions and more transparent demonstration of their interconnections should fortify the young generation ideologically while equipping it with ideological motivation for an active and committed attitude.

With regard to this attitude, it is worth remembering the Leninist postulate for combining ideological and educational work among young people with their participation in socio-economic transformations, i.e., the method to educate through actions that produce social effects. Young people's range of activity has considerably expanded. The party leadership has repeatedly indicated to youth where their enthusiasm, energy, ambition, and commitment are most needed. This has released many valuable new initiatives, expanded the front of operation of youth organizations, and caused growing numbers of young persons to acquire a broader, civic-minded view of their surroundings and a better perception of the problems that must be solved with their participation.

Yet this does not mean that all possibilities for youth activity and education through action have been exhausted. Much can be accomplished by the young people for the sake of technological progress, improvement of job conditions, organization and management of work, betterment of their own and their peers' professional qualifications, in the organization of leisure and recreational activities, in the care and upbringing of their juniors, in expanding social activities in their local communities, in upgrading the functioning of self-government bodies, and other areas.

There also seems to be a need for making better use of young persons' natural critical bent, channeling it not only to concrete and socially useful actions, but also directing it to reflection about accelerating the elimination of hindrances, drawbacks, and shortcomings from our life. The point is to utilize youth's intellectual capabilities, proposals, and views on Poland's developmental prospects and its innovative tendencies in both the productional-technical and social spheres. Young persons should have more opportunities to test their powers in all areas in which they will gradually become the determinant, decisive factor. Only this route can lead them to acquire suitable civic experience, transforming emotional criticism into constructive activity and learning to accept responsibility for their actions.

Partnership, a term that first appeared during the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR CC in 1972, most aptly expresses the character of sociopolitical relations between the youth and adults. It underscores the treatment of youth as a subjective entity and the democratism inherent in these relations. At the same time, partnership is an effective educational method aiding in the acceleration of young people's civic maturation. Partnership centers on their genuine participation in solving vital problems of their schools, colleges, communities, work establishments, and influencing the course of public matters and decisions relevant to youth.

As a mode of collaboration and an educational method, partnership wins growing numbers of supporters, which is not to say that there is a lack of opposition resulting from obsolete pedagogical views and fear to allow confrontation of the knowledge, skills, and suggestions for improvement in definite areas of our life. Yet this is the only method that engenders in young persons a sense of responsibility and conviction of their own duty to eliminate various shortcomings in the country's development as well as their accountability for their attitudes and those of their peers.

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CSO: 2600

POLAND

MILITARY COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES MBFR IMPASSE

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 May 78 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "Vienna Before the Anniversary"]

[Text] At the end of April, the 14th round of the negotiations between the 12 NATO countries and the 7 Warsaw Pact countries concerning the reduction of military forces in Central Europe came to an end. On 18 May, the 169th meeting will mark the start of round 15 of the talks, and in October, 5 years will have elapsed since the talks began. Thus this is an anniversary year for the Vienna negotiations.

In Retrospect

Let us remember that during the first year of the negotiations the two sides very quickly reached an agreement on a very important theme because it concerned the area of military force reductions encompassed by seven countries: the FRG, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. It also concerned exchange of data regarding sizes of military forces in this area, a matter on which the negotiations stalled and turned into arduous and fruitless discussions. But the problem is important since it represents a point of departure from the basic disaccord existing from the start of the negotiations, which to date has not been surmounted in the least.

The problem concerns the system of reduction. The socialist countries, standing on the principle of parity of forces, consequently propose to reduce the sizes of the armed forces by equal percentages. The West does not accept such a method, maintaining that the size of the Warsaw Pact armies in the established area exceeds NATO forces by 150,000 soldiers.

Based on its concept of asymmetry, the NATO countries delegates on December 1975 put forth the plan that the first phase of reduction encompass armed forces, and more precisely the land armies of the USSR and the United States on the territories of both German states according to the following proportions: the United States would remove 1,000 atomic warheads (of a total

of 7,300) together with a small number of vehicles for their delivery and 29,000 soldiers. In exchange for this, it was demanded that the Soviet Union remove an appropriate number of soldiers and tanks. Then, after this, further talks would take place.

The disproportion of the above reductions is so obvious that detail explanation are not needed. In the 30 March 1976 reply of the socialist countries, data concerning the numerical status of the armies in Central Europe was submitted: 805,000 enlisted personnel and officers. At the same time--accepting in good faith that the size of the NATO forces as given by the Western delegation is 780,000--not only was approximate equilibrium thus demonstrated but so was the groundlessness of the West's proposals and their "asymmetrical" assumption. Nonetheless, for the NATO representatives, their "own" numbers, obtained by way of speculation or derived from intelligence information (tending, in general, to overestimate an opponent's strength), were and remain more accurate than those which the "East" specified.

The matter came to a dead stop.

What Next?

"Elastic modification" and "great initiative" is what the Western press calls the not-so-much new but different plan to reduce armed forces presented in the name of the NATO countries by Chief FRG Delegate Behrend at the last meeting of the 14th round of the negotiations.

"Recently", stated L. Brezhnev at a recent Komsomol meeting, "the Western countries announced in Vienna somewhat different proposal. To a certain extent they justify the rationale of the socialist countries although they still clearly maintain their one-sided approach." And Minister Gromyko, in an interview given after the meeting of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Sofia, declared pointblank that the aim of NATO's new position is to obtain "one-sided military advantages" for the West.

On what is the substance of these proposals based? If we can trust Western informants on this subject, then the Soviet Union is supposed to give up the same number of soldiers and tanks as the West demanded before and in addition--and this is what is supposed to be "new"--it can be five divisions from various Central European regions. From its side, America continues to abide by 29,000 soldiers and 1,000 atomic warheads.

Proceeding further in their "concessions," the West concurs with the principle of equal reductions but at a later phase, after each side has reduced its numbers to 700,000 soldiers. In this "balancing of forces," other Central European countries would participate by reducing their national armies.

Formulating the matter more simply--"asymmetry" of reduction does not change in this system and "symmetry" will be achieved only when the West says so.

Thus, we still do not see that the NATO countries care to come to a realistic compromise, to come closer to the position of the socialist states.

In practice, their proposals on numbers remain unchanged, and their principle of reduction also remains unchanged. Those five divisions—that is an exchange of one bad bargain for another. In addition the West's obliging agreement to allow the Soviet Union to freely select the military forces to be reduced (provided the number of soldiers and tanks reduced remain the same as before) is merely a technical trick which solves nothing. The comparison of numbers is important. As is authentic parity of forces, whose preservation the socialist countries do not and cannot abandon.

It is all the more important because over the years of the Vienna negotiations the NATO countries have made far-reaching changes in the technical armaments of their forces, which increased their combat effectiveness significantly. The arming of the Bundeswehr with new antitank bombs which throw off dozens of minimissiles has been announced: intensive research is being conducted in the use of lasers to combat armored vehicles, and the matter of equipping NATO units with neutron weapons, which would alter the balance of power in Europe in a fundamental way, is still in suspension.

Thus, with the passage of time, new proposals become old and it becomes increasingly difficult to find the stated modus vivendi which would reflect a true balance of power. If the Vienna talks continue to lengthen, if they continue to stagnate, then the 1,000 rockets offered so generously by the United States for Soviet reductions will only mean as much as 1,000 carbines.

11899

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POLAND

NEW ARMED FORCES CULTURAL PROGRAM DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-27 Apr 78 p 3

/Interview with Deputy Chief, Main Political Administration of the Polish Army; Chief, Office of Culture and Education Brig Gen Albin Zyto by Zbigniew Damski/

/Text/ /Question/ As a document, the "Program to Develop Culture in the Armed Forces," is now in the hands of all military units and is the subject of penetrating and comprehensive study. In your opinion, Citizen General, what are the most important values and contents of this program that deserve special Attention?

/Answer/ This is a very significant document, unique, without precedent on the scale of a socialist army; it also is the only program in the country designed to disseminate culture on a wide scale in a programmatic and concise way relative to a concrete military environment.

The program defines more fully in a new way the comprehensive goals of culture in the LWP /Polish People's Army/. It accentuates its sociopolitical, ideological-upbringing, educational, inspirational, creative, and recreational functions. In the program concept, culture is supposed to exert influence on all areas of military life and activity and thus on professional, social, and political activities, on shaping interpersonal relations and esthetic sensitivities, on strengthening socialist patriotism, sense of responsibility, and public discipline, and on improving the military preparedness level of the units and subunits.

Therefore, it is a program to develop multifunctionally a widely comprehended culture that is closely linked with the process of training and educating soldiers, with all spheres of armed forces activities, with the extensive development of the military environment and with the shaping of a socialist way of life for the military community.

It is an important adjunct to the system designated for the LWP by the "Principles of Ethics ... and Morals...", "Rules for Cadre Activities," and the "Program to Strengthen Discipline." It enriches these documents and provides appropriate support.

An important feature of the program and its integral parts (the plan of procedure and addendums) is the high degree to which tasks are defined. This will permit an efficient, measurable assessment of its realization and necessary corrections and modifications.

It should be emphasized also that the program is a document that is amendable to new inputs resulting from the socioeconomic development of the nation and the armed forces, to new ideas and initiatives, to increasingly accomplished and efficient forms for propagating widely conceived culture.

Also characteristic of the program is that in it every member of our military community can find problems that interest him vitally and designate his place in the process of realizing programmatic tasks. It can be said that the program is gaining widespread support; it will become the cultural education and behavior code for every soldier, the basis for achieving greater quality of service and work, and the basis for improving cultural and educational activity in the armed forces.

It also can be said that the military community will enrich this program. It will actively implement its contents and assumptions based on its needs and capabilities, translating them into the language of practical action and expertly adapting them to environmental conditions.

/Question/ The program includes a review and balance sheet of results achieved to date by the army in the field of culture, trends of activity, and applied methods and forms. This, of course, is necessary because to determine future paths one first must establish the road traveled thus far. The said program, therefore, is the turning point. What will be the directions of the most important changes and what new actions and formats will be applied compared to previous years?

/Answer/ What is new, above all, is this: till now, in program documents, culture was most often initiated into cultural and educational activity or, in other words, into the sphere of activity traditionally defined by popularizing artistic culture.

The present program encompasses all spheres of military life and activity and thus, in addition to traditionally understood culture, it also includes the cultivation of leadership and staff operations, political culture and interhuman relations, the cultivation of wholesomeness, technology and the like. In other words, culture in the programmatic sense, touching all elements of military life and timing. Of course, with such a concept the addressee-executors of the program tasks also change. In days past, as a rule, cultural upbringing was limited to activities conducted during non-work and non-service times, and, thus, tasks associated with these activities were the responsibility of cultural-educational centers. But by expanding the scope of cultural activities, the addressees and executors now include all services and specialties, all army organization cells, and party, youth, social and association organizations active in the army.

The army is an institution in which moral-political unity is based on commonly accepted values of socialism. The solidarity of the ranks, mutual service relations and informal links play an especially important role and are factors codetermining the competence and military readiness of the armed forces. This is why the problem of strengthening extended cultivation of community life was strongly emphasized in the program. In terms of the program's assumptions, this means that culture should become a means of strengthening links between superiors and subordinates, a source cocreating an atmosphere of sincerity and trust, conscious discipline and sense of responsibility, strengthening the consistency of words, attitudes and actions, and encouraging activity favoring the shaping of proper feelings and moral-political integration of the military environment. Cultural centers should serve to shape the attitudes of activists and committed people; they should create a climate and atmosphere favoring the development of various forms of collective activity and encouraging ideological motivation for reliable service and work.

The program also places great emphasis on shaping political culture, respect for national symbols and military banners, the principles of socialist democracy, legal norms and regulations and the extreme interdependence between good service, efficient work and individual success and satisfaction.

The shaping of intellectual activities and cognitive aspirations also are an important program tasks. So are: initiatives to seek knowledge independently, knowing how to use sources of scientific information, systematic interest in military-professional periodicals and improved methods for more rapid implementation of new solutions to the process of service work, education and upbringing of soldiers.

Associated with this is the need to popularize technical culture extensively to expand the soldier's technical knowledge and know-how, to strengthen their mastery over equipment and arms as well as to create conditions guaranteeing full productive use of work and service times to improve the quality of activity and task execution.

In a new way, the program emphasizes tasks related to the development of artistic culture. We desire that our environment contain more beauty, artistry, art, elements expanding esthetic sensitivity, creative inventiveness and activity. Because of this, we expect more extensive use of art, exhibits, historic-military emblems, the latest materials and so forth in arranging and decorating interiors, but without ostentation and at the same time maintaining the rigors of economy, simplicity and good taste. Parallel to this, we will expand the amateur art movement, intensify and improve the utilization of art to expand the emotional sphere of the individual soldier and his capability to perceive the material world, to form intellect, feeling, volition, sensitivity for good and bad, beauty and ugliness.

Very briefly, this is what can be said about some contents of the program. The program does not impose unequivocal forms for solving specific problems, but it does inspire a search for more effective activity. The fact that this

inspiration is effective is attested to by the large number of innovative suggestions sent in reply to the announced competition entitled "High Culture--Higher Level of Military Preparedness." For example, one can list interesting suggestions concerning just one problem, namely, managing a soldier's free time. Among these suggestions are cultural propositions entitled "Liberty With a Coupon Book" for shows organized by civilian and military cultural institutions; "Organized Liberty Passes," based on pre-planned group cultural sojourns during liberty; subunit program exchanges and tourneys, art exhibits, regional festivals and so forth.

/Question/ Currently, the military units are in the process of translating the program contents into concrete work plans. The program, however, contains no ready-made prescriptions. In addition, it is quite flexible; it permits free selection and maneuvering. I think that at this initial stage the suggestions of the Office of Culture and Education of the GZP WP /Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army/ designating basic trends of operations for the very near future would be immensely helpful...

/Answer/ Presently, the most urgent problem is to acquaint all professional soldiers with the program contents and translate the resolutions contained in it into the language of service and social tasks that are scrupulously controlled, accounted for and properly evaluated.

The creation of a united front of service, party and social action is a basic condition for fully realizing program tasks. The duty of the commanders, staff personnel, school instructors, quartermaster and technical services cadres as well as all individuals working for the army is to fully cooperate in realizing the cultural development program.

Everyone should create a climate favoring the development of cultural life, encouraging and piloting the realization of initiatives and actions undertaken by subordinates and pupils, subordinate service cells and social factors within the scope of their activity.

The central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense and the central institutions of the department of culture and education have an important role to play in realizing the program. Their function is twofold: first, they should shape the culture of their own cadres within the context of the program assumptions, and second, to conceptually and normatively support subordinate departments and organizational levels in realizing tasks resulting from the work plan.

The leadership and party-political organs at all levels of management are responsible for developing a proper implementation system and to complete realization of the cultural development program and the tasks contained in the work plan, aiding subordinate units in this area and evaluating and analyzing the quality of the executed tasks. Special attention must be paid to basic army cells, units and subunits, army schools and specialist training centers because the primary brunt of the battle for higher quality cultural upbringing rests on them. It is they who should be the object of the prismatic focus of efforts by all services to improve the culture of small military communities.

Party organizations and echelons as well as ZSMP /expansion unknown/ circles and administrations have an important task to fulfill, above all, to guarantee the proper ideological level of cultural activity and to inspire social action. They should be based on party and organizational recommendations for work in club councils and culture councils for members having interests in culture, a love for social work and appropriate knowhow, methodical and organizational.

All activities will be coordinated by the party-political apparatus. That is why it must improve the forms of its operations, its cultural centers, institutions and clubs so that they can be equal to the tasks resulting from the cultural development program which are ambitious and difficult but not impossible to realize if all resources and capabilities are fully integrated. The creation of a plane of discussion for the continuous confrontation of theory with practice, the constant flow of information between managing and directing organs and executory groups, and the persistent correction and improvement of assumptions as practical experience is gained are essential conditions for solving problems successfully.

Specific tasks in this area were formulated in the implementation plan for the "Program to Develop Culture in the Armed Services of the Polish People's Republic" which the Ow /Military Districts/ and RSZ /expansion unknown/ are realizing.

/Question/ The program was initiated during the 35th anniversary year of the Polish People's Army. On this occasion, what are the most important aims for military units and cultural-educational institutions and what will be the main shows associated with the anniversary?

/Answer/ Indeed, the cultural development program is one of the significant features of the LWP jubilee, emphasizing the army's 35 years of cultural achievements and signifying its long-term trend.

From the extensive program of the main ceremonies, the following are worthy of mention: the soldiers' festival of song in Kolobrzeg, the festival of Polish army artistic groups in Polczyna Zdroj, the representative orchestra festival in Radom, the soloist-instrumentalist competition in Swieradow Zdroj, the "Loyalty to Tradition--Service as Needed" competition for diploma work for the higher schools of art, the all-Polish art exhibit entitled "The Army in the Life of the Fatherland," the amateur photography exhibit "The Beauty of Military Service," the postcompetition exhibit of folk art "The Soldier--Defender and Builder," the tourist rally of teachers in Wielkopolska, the central rally of the LWP in the Pomeranian Military District, the literary session entitled "The Army, Literature and Art," the Day of Culture of the LWP, and the designation of June as the month of culture in the LWP. We also are planning to organize and hold an International Congress of Associations of Museums of Arms and Military History.

The organization of these shows--and it should be emphasized that the program will include many more in addition to those mentioned above--requires numerous

and work-consuming preliminary organizational endeavors at the central and district levels.

In addition to the final artistic results, they will release and enliven that which is their greatest upbringing value: the amateur artistic movement. To the same extent, they also will enliven the esthetic interests of soldiers in the large garrisons as well as in the most remote outposts. Thus, the duty of all cultural institutions is to create conditions for confrontation which will bring to light initiatives, ideas, the needs for expression and, above all, all that which is designated by the phrase "creating upbringing situations." We also believe that many new ideas and proposals will come forward from the competition of military units in implementing social acts to enrich and protect the natural beauty of the fatherland under the slogan "The Soldiers' Green Memorial for the 35th Anniversary of the LWP," and in the competition to designate the best military educational library during the 35th LWP anniversary.

I am strongly convinced that the presented goals will lend themselves to the conscientious execution of the tasks designated by the minister of national defense at the annual school ceremony who emphasized, among other things, that "The study and implementation of the cultural development program is one of the basic tasks of the jubilee year "

In realizing the "Cultural Development Program for the PRL Armed Forces," the earnest, extensively considered, long-term work of the united front of service, party and social activists will lend itself, among other things, to the notable celebration of the 35th anniversary of the LWP as evidenced by the constant growth of ideological-moral and educational values that will improve the quality of all areas of our life and service.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FRG--Poland plans to change the leadership of its FRG embassy during the summer. The current Warsaw ambassador Wacław Piatkowski has already vacated his office in Cologne. His successor is Jan Chyliński [sic--probably Chylinski], diploma engineer, former director of an iron-works and currently a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission. [Chylinski] is not only an excellent economics expert, he also has good relations with the party and state leadership: He is the son of Bolesław Bierut, Poland's first postwar president and party chief. [Text] [Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 23, 5 Jun 78 p 18]

CSO: 2300

FOREIGNERS ACCUSED OF APPROPRIATING, DISTORTING NATIONAL MUSIC

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 14 Apr 78 pp 6-7

/Discussion by Emilia Comisel, Virgil Candea, Viorel Cosma, Marin Constantin and Ludovic Bacs, reported by Luminita Vartolomei/

/Text/ For 2,000 years the people of these lands have been singing of their hopes and achievements, their desires and sufferings, and their sorrows and joys in a musical language that is both highly original and richly diversified. For 2,000 years they have been forming in this way a national treasure of a value that is inestimable not only in the poetic sense of the word but also in the sense of the possibilities of gaining complete knowledge of it by means of an extensive program to determine, study and publish it and, wherever possible, to present it to the world of music as an immortal work of art.

This discussion, held by the ethnic musicologist Emilia Comisel, the cultural historian Virgil Candea, the musicologist Viorel Cosma, and the conductors Marin Constantin and Ludovic Bacs, is devoted to this subject of great importance to our culture.

Our discussion, which presents a number of efforts and good results but also some serious delays, is obviously only a beginning. But we are sure the guidelines it suggests will encourage the institutions concerned (Radioteleviziunea, Electrecordul, the Institute for Ethnological and Dialect Studies, the Musical Publishing House, the philharmonic orchestras and, of course, the Composers' Union) to institute comprehensive programs for exploiting old Romanian music to the full.

Greater Publishing Efforts Required

Constantin: By virtue of their complexity the particular problems of the subject under discussion here are especially important in bringing out (in the spirit of the ideas expressed by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the First Congress on Political Indoctrination and Socialist Culture) the exceptional part that musical culture has played in forming the spiritual character of the Romanian people as a distinctive feature of their age-old existence in this area.

Throughout their troubled history our people have carefully preserved the basic facts about their ethnic origin, overcoming the vicissitudes of time with their characteristic selfless endurance, constantly developing their language and songs, cultivating their traditions and customs, and embellishing their national costumes. Culture and art have thus become a veritable "seismograph of their feelings and aspirations," as Ovid Densusianu phrased it.

Nicolae Ceausescu's appeal to emphasize critical evaluation of our ancestors' legacy is an objective historical necessity of the development of socialist Romanian art and culture, as well as one of our major patriotic duties to our national culture and to the particular manifestations of it that unquestionably attest to the age and continuity of Romanian music.

Cosma: To be sure the last decade has greatly enriched the sources of our knowledge of the long evolution of music on Romanian ground, as our musicologists examine the archeological and iconographic evidence and the texts of the ancient authors. But there are yet many archeological materials hidden in the storehouses of museums, awaiting study and publication. They are a treasure of European significance, regrettably overlooked by archeologists and unknown to musicologists.

Constantin: Then the question is, shall we make every effort to make the best use of Romania's rich cultural traditions and to explore all sources indicating the antiquity of a musical culture of matchless diversity and richness as an integral part of our national existence?

Unfortunately we must frankly admit that studies in this field, especially for esthetic purposes and those of patriotic indoctrination, have been marking time for far too long.

Comisel: At the Institute of Ethnology, for example, thousands of melodies are waiting that have been collected with care (and, in the past, at personal sacrifices) and are accompanied by the necessary supplementary information, as well as thousands more that are recorded on tapes and phonograph records and are in danger of gradual deterioration. Shouldn't we consider a campaign to record these by musical notation ... before it is too late? It is a duty of honor to study and publish here and abroad this evidence of our permanence and continuity on this land from ancient times and of the beauty, originality and vitality of the treasure.

Constantin: The state of folklore studies is unfortunately not unique. For example we now have about 1,000 Byzantine musical manuscripts but only four or five specialists in Byzantine music, and their eagerness to study and exploit them is even restrained by certain bureaucratic attitudes. Personally, I cannot understand why the Musical Publishing House does not plan to publish Prof Gheorghe Ciobanu's study of Byzantology until 1980, when our Bulgarian colleagues, who have very few Byzantine musical materials, have already brought out many studies some of which have even been published in several languages for international circulation.

Comisel: The fact is we are printing very little. The Bulgarian folklorists have published thousands of melodies in their big "Zbornik" collection, and the Hungarians have nearly surpassed them in their big corpus, of which about four volumes have been published, while the Romanian study, which includes the melodies and contains over 700 types and variants, was compiled some time ago but has not yet seen the light of print. When I read a report on the folk music of Romania in the 17th and 18th centuries at an international congress in Poland, several foreign musicologists asked me if we really have such a wealth of musical genres, forms and structures and if we do, why haven't we published them in world languages and widely circulated them in Europe and other continents.

We are actually making an impressive scientific effort. But who knows the results? The studies appear, if they appear, in a "confidential" printing. The Floklore Institute has done an exceptionally fruitful and highly scientific job of compiling regional musical monographs. But why has no use been made of all this work, involving much capital and intellectual effort? MUZICA, REVISTA DE ISTORIA ARTEI and other journals are publishing valuable materials, some of them even of interest to the general public, but they are confined to a limited circle of specialists. The Musical Publishing House has put out some important studies, but they have not appeared abroad, while some reports presented at national and international congresses are still unknown not only to the public but also to the specialists.

Constantin: The lack of such efforts in Romania makes us take a nostalgic view of the fact that the famous Putna School, a moment of glory for Romanian musical culture in the past, is mainly a subject of foreign research, and that Anton Pann, "clever as a proverb" as the poet said, is claimed by other cultural circles -- to cite only two examples...

Bacs: For other examples, "Musikalisch tuerkischer Eulenspiegel" by Dacianus Simplicissimus (Daniel Speer) was printed and recorded in its entirety in Czechoslovakia. And a phonograph record of this piece came out in Hungary, and also of fragments from the "Codex Caioni" and Bakfark's "Fantasies for a Lute." In neither case were the pieces attributed to Romanian musical culture.

Candea: I could add further examples of this, such as artistic manuscripts or other cultural objects created by Romanians but sometimes identified abroad as foreign. Sometimes it is a matter of sheer ignorance, but sometimes pseudoscientific theories are employed to attribute works to other cultures. For a long time the Romanian swords in the Salle d'Armes in Topkapi Palace (Istanbul), including Stefan the Great's sword, were exhibited as Hungarian swords because the museographer had not identified them. The error was corrected long ago with a natural concern for scientific truth. Yet in 1975 the Bavarian State Library in Munich exhibited some old Bulgarian manuscripts and included the "Tetravanghel" /Four Gospels/ written and decorated at Putna by Toader Mariscu, a codex that had been kept in that library for a long time. Similarly in 1977 the National Library in Vienna included manuscripts of Filip and Atanasie Grimca, well-known Romanian artists, in an exhibit on the same subject. How can works unquestionably created by Romanian artists and scholars on Romanian soil be claimed for any foreign cultures? Confusion is perpetuated by the theory that the Slavonic language, used for a time in the medieval period by

Romanian scholars too, was the same as the spoken Bulgarian language. This is inaccurate because the former was a dead language used solely for its prestige as a "sacred" language like Latin and Ancient Greek, while the latter was a living, popular language not written until much later. But regardless of what language any Romanian scholars wrote in the past (Cantemir for instance composed his works not only in Romanian but also in Turkish, Latin and Russian), the scientific truth is that these works belong to the Romanian people's cultural heritage.

Countering Distortions and Confusions

Cosma: A number of practices have arisen lately in connection with old Romanian music, such as appropriation of indigenous musical documents and especially misrepresentation of sources. A "Bakfark Musical Consortium" has been founded in Budapest and is publishing the Brasov musician's works in print ("Opera omnia") and on phonograph records. All sorts of ethnographic papers are circulating, some outside our national borders, on our Romanian local folklore. Monuments of medieval and renaissance Romanian culture are appearing in Bulgarian collections (Eustatie de la Putna's "Book of Songs"). I think we must take a firm stand against these practices in our publications or in joint scientific discussions.

Comisel: I think we have waited too long to investigate foreign archives containing some of our cultural values and data on our history. Most European archives harbor materials of great scientific and artistic value that we should know, study and publish without delay to expedite the appearance of that synthesis of Romanian culture we have long awaited.

To make just one point, the western countries have very important materials representing the enthusiastic and pertinent work of Constantin Brailoiu (a true pioneer in many fields of Romanian music such as folk music, music criticism and history, and teaching of music. He was one of the founders of the Society of Romanian Composers in 1920 and of the Folklore Archive in 1928, etc.). A brief bibliography indicates that in Paris alone the Musee de l'Homme has about 5,000 typed pages ready for publication that are awaiting printing as well as a great many melodies and photographs (some critics, points in the people's artistic experience, etc.).

Candea: Personally I would not confine myself to our musical documents in foreign collections but would consider Romanian cultural works in general that have found their way abroad over the centuries. They are more numerous than we might imagine, tens of thousands of them, and they are housed in archives, libraries and museums not only in Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean countries as far as Syria and Egypt (areas of diffusion of the old Romanian culture) but also in other cultural centers in Western Europe and North America. We know a large part of these works of our culture and the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House will publish a list of them soon, if a provisional one. Many of the Romanian manuscripts abroad are musical ones and our investigations will no doubt lead to the discovery of other valuable codices composed in Romania. Wherever the musical, literary and artistic works of Romanians are housed, just as Romanian inventions they should be studied with the same

care as those in Romanian collections in order to restore the true image of Romanian material and spiritual progress in the past as well as the history of our culture and civilization. By the efforts of our bibliographers, librarians, museographers and archivists through their relations with foreign institutions housing Romanian works, the latter should be identified and brought home in the form of reproductions (casts, microfilms, photographs or mere xerox copies), or the originals when possible, for temporary exhibits arranged with foreign partners. What a joy it would be for us to admire, in such an exhibit in Romania, the oldest artistic manuscript, created in Neamtu in 1429 by Gavril Uric and housed today in the Bodleian Library at Oxford! I have often recommended the establishment in Bucharest of an archive of reproductions of Romanian works in foreign collections (documents, manuscripts, old books, papers, musical scores, etc.), a collection of casts of works of art, and the most complete card file of these works as possible, to be constantly augmented by new finds. The recommendation is being considered by the Central Commission for the National Cultural Heritage and we hope it will be implemented as soon as possible.

Comisel: Many of the intellectuals settled in various countries are making a sustained effort to disseminate Romanian culture. They publish papers in various periodicals or in volumes, but some of them remain unknown to us. Their work and the noble task they have undertaken single-handed out of respect and admiration for a culture they have not forsaken should be recognized.

Cosma: I think bodies of foreign researchers organized according to countries, artistic centers based on regular exchanges with Romanian musicologists, joint symposiums and other forms of collaboration would greatly change the face of research. Inviting owners of musical documents to Romania would also bring untold benefits to our culture. And the Romanian libraries in Rome, New York, Munich, Paris etc. could form circles of friends of Romanian music where they could hold concerts, conferences and symposiums with critics and musicologists from Romania.

Candea: Publication of the repertoire we were discussing will enable lovers of Romanian culture (scientific and friendship groups or personalities in the world of letters and art) to arrange retrospective exhibits of such Romanian works and conferences on them or to initiate studies and publications that will help to make use of them. Study of these works of Romanian culture will contribute equally to knowledge of the cultural history of the countries wherein they are housed at present, since every literary, musical or other work that has traveled afar illustrates a point in the cultural relations between Romanians and the nation that has included a work of Romanian origin in its heritage.

Let us not confine ourselves to identifying the documents. Exploitation means scientific study of these works and their presentation to specialists and the general public through publications (articles, books, editions of texts, and art albums), radio and TV, documentary films, and exhibits or illustrated conferences.

Bacs: At present the means of exploiting the gems of old Romanian music are not being sufficiently used. There are too few phonograph records and not enough copies of them, almost no printing at all, poorly organized and isolated

concerts, and lack of sympathy for the future promotion of old Romanian music on the part of directors of renowned artistic institutions.

Constantin: It is also because we have not succeeded in breaking the chain of prejudices that purely and simply block the efforts that are made, which are quite isolated anyway.

Cosma: For example, the serious confusion between sacred music and the religious mystique /misticul/ still persists.

Constantin: From its very beginnings the church has tried to prevent religious music from being influenced by secular music, because "The devil appears in these customs," as one chronicler said. Yet folk music made its way, with difficulty at first, and then succeeded in asserting itself in the liturgy. Of course we cannot take the time now to analyze the unquestionable effect of folk songs upon liturgical song, but this will have to be done with the greatest scientific accuracy if we do not wish to deprive the national culture of an entire period of its musical development.

Candea: We must acknowledge that old Romanian music is now known only to a limited number of specialists. There can be no adequate exploitation until these works of our ancestors are actually circulated among our musical values.

Cosma: Yet major advances have been made in the study of psalm music, although it is still very difficult to get them into print. This work is done in isolation and often selfishly by researchers who keep the transcriptions of psalm music in their own desks. The fact that our Byzantine scholars still disagree prevents us from taking firm stands on problems in dispute abroad.

Constantin: I think the administration of the Composers' Union should find the time to direct and determine an effective effort in this field, especially through encouragement of research and through discussion, in specialist circles, of the guidelines and scientific criteria basic to the research and exploitation efforts.

Candea: And for a complete picture of our medieval musical output, I think it is important to reinforce the musicological investigations with those of literary history or of the history of our old institutions. Let me explain. Dating from the second half of the 18th century a major effort has been made in Romania to translate the Byzantine hymns. This is a work of great literary significance, when we realize that these hymns were composed by great poets like Romano Melodul, Cassia, Ioan din Damasc et al. and that they were translated in the great literatures of Western Europe only in the last two decades. Since the verses were translated into Romanian to be sung, it is obvious that the translator was creating a literary and a musical work at the same time, so that our studies of today should envisage both fields of cultural creation. As for the history of our institutions, it is well known that music played an important part in the court ceremonies that expressed and abetted the idea of the Romanian tsars' sovereignty.

Cosma: I am glad to see that the music of the 15th-17th centuries is now more completely known than it was before World War II, so that the continuity of Romanian music throughout the whole province of Dacia is clearer than it was.

Bacs: But first the libraries in Romania (Alba Iulia, Miercurea Ciuc, Sibiu etc.) should be prospected more thoroughly. There is still a great deal of material on instrumental and vocal-instrumental music that has not yet been circulated. Of course this material must be reexamined and restored because a great many works are in the form of parts [stine] alone. Such materials are housed in the Sibiu State Archives (the former Bruckenthal Library), where I found the "Dictum in C" by Johann Sartorius: the parts for a choir, a part for a first violin, and a part for a second violin and a figured bass. None of the parts had the same number of measures, although it was clear that they belonged to one and the same piece, probably because of errors in copying. After great pains I finally reduced it to the form in which it was recorded with Electrecord.

The written documents for cultivated instrumental music of the 17th century evidence an advanced musical culture on Romanian territory. The above-mentioned work of Sartorius, as well as the "Codex Caioni" or Reilich's works, are conclusive in this respect.

Dissemination of Authentic Values

Constantin: I think the Romanian efforts to explore the old periods of Romanian music, such as the formation a few years ago of the Old Music Orchestra at Radioteleviziunea and (excuse my immodesty) the inclusion of some significant preclassical works in the repertoire of the Madrigal Chorus, should be better sustained. Let us not stop in the middle of the road. I have already made two phonograph records of highly significant music from the 13th-17th centuries. For my part, I am going to carry on this effort to make good use of the treasury of Romanian music from the past.

Cosma: Our orchestras for old music (vocal or instrumental) are inadequate to meet the requirements of international propaganda, and one can hardly speak of their instruments: the positive organ, the virginal, the ney [neyul], the lute, the recorder and the viola d'amore are still rarities although the music of Căianu, Bakfark, Cantemir et al. cannot be played without them. Nor do the international musical exchanges help to fill any gaps. Cantemir's record has not appeared for 5 or 6 years because Electrecordul has not found the "philosopher's stone" for collaboration with a Turkish orchestra for classical music, and the Composers' Union does not even have the edition of Cantemir's works in course of printing in Istanbul.

Bacs: Prospecting, restoring (harmonizing and orchestration), performances as frequent as possible over the widest possible area, printing and all media of advertising are the ways of exploiting this treasure. Of course it is also necessary to purchase old instruments or copies thereof such as straight [drepte] flutes, bass viols, lutes, spinets and virginals.

Cosma: Then the problem of dissemination arises. Although the mass media means have multiplied in recent times, the press, radio and especially TV fall far short of fulfilling their noble mission of exploiting the old sources of Romanian music.

Comisel: As far as folk music is concerned, the mass media (radio, TV, records) publicize only a very small part of the output and not always the best or representative part. The literary and theatrical texts are the sole criteria.

The Electrecord Records House is making an often praiseworthy but inadequate effort to popularize the pieces that relate the present to the past and the ones that are our own: some legendary carols and ballads, wedding and funeral songs, some lyric pieces showing great age, etc.

Constantin: That is also because of the prejudices we were talking about. The word "carol" seems to alarm us, although it is easy to determine that the Romanian carols originate primarily in reality, in events and in legends of a profoundly humanistic nature. This is also true of other traditional pieces. For example, the wedding song sung in chorus by all the reapers as they brought the wreath or sheaf of wheat ears interwoven with wild flowers into a village has an ancient fertility significance. The heritage of the same popular culture also gave rise to the songs of protest, as the people's mode of thought and expression gradually permeated feudal culture and lent it a greater expressive power and a particular force.

Comisel: The institute has the masters of absolutely authentic and beautiful pieces representative of several areas and genres. Why aren't they being used? Moreover some areas of Romania are still inadequately represented on both radio and TV and especially on records. Electrecord has made a few folk music anthologies of inestimable value. The three volumes are sought after not only by Romanians, specialists or not, but also by foreigners. I think more copies should be made available to the public.

The fine effort to rediscover and popularize our national artistic values via the Cintare Romaniei should be sustained. How great is the need of our amateur artists today for anthologies or local and genre monographs, to take pride in the values that they themselves or their ancestors have created and especially to look for the most representative traditional works in these volumes! I consider it urgent to reproduce or publish folk anthologies according to genres and regions that will explain not only to pupils and students but also to the general public, to amateur and professional artists, the origin of folk genres and their value to Romanian culture, primarily as links of a chain that must not be broken. I do not think it necessary for radio and TV to keep presenting new and freshly born songs. The songs come from a distant past and we do not need to change them today or replace them with substitutes. To be sure folklore is not a frozen art and it constantly adjusts to men's artistic horizons, but the changes are slow and do not affect the basic characteristics of a genre. And so first comes thorough knowledge of the content and modes of expression of a genre and then the "courage" to "compose" new pieces without misrepresenting the traditional form of that genre. For millennia the people have been creating and "updating" their creations, but with good taste, talent and slow, logical progress in an art that belongs to all.

Constantin: To pass on now to more general considerations, I should like to say I consider the existing means of exploiting our musical heritage sufficient but insufficiently used. I think more should be done to encourage study of the

traditions in this field. The problem should be earnestly analyzed and discussed by specialists. Furthermore the TV and radio broadcasts, the press and especially the technical journals, as well as the repertoires of the concert and theater seasons should reflect a more intensive effort and a greater desire not to leave unused the priceless treasures that belong to us and characterize us by their richness, vigor and beauty.

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CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

BANKING COURSE FOR CUBANS--On the basis of an agreement between the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the government of the Republic of Cuba, a course on banking organization intended for the training of cadres from the National Bank of Cuba who will be concerned with the financing and crediting of investments has been initiated at "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy in the International Center for Advanced Training of Management Personnel in Enterprises (CEPECA). The course, which will last 8 weeks, will be given by management cadres and specialists from the Investment Bank, the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, and other such institutions in the country. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Jun 78 p 5]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

BORO DENKOV GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE ON SECURITY DAY

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 May 78 p 3

[Report by S. S. and V.C.: "Security--a Concern of All Citizens and Working People"]

[Text] On the occasion of Security Day Boro Denkov, secretary of the presidency of the Central Committee of the SKM [League of Communists of Macedonia--LCM] spoke at the conference for press, radio and television held night before last at the Central Committee of the LCM. The republic secretary of internal affairs, Mirko Bunevski; his deputy, Evzi Memeti; the vice secretaries, Vasko Kostojcinovski and Kire Ilievski; the assistant, Redzo Ibrahimov, and other representatives of the RSVR [Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs] also took part in the conference.

In the beginning of his speech at the meeting with representatives of the public information media, Boro Denkov indicated that the origins of our security organization go back to the period of illegal activity of the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] prior to the war. In continuation, he reflected on establishment of the Security Service during the NOV [National Liberation War] and its activity in the period up to now.

"The Security Service has always stood, and continues to exist, as a powerful factor in the defense of our society, the regime established by the Constitution, our self-managing socialism, and, in global terms, the defense of the ideological-political line of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," stated Denkov. "This is a great achievement, an important indicator that we have at our disposal, an ideologically and politically conscious security service which, in terms of its personnel, expertise, techniques and above all its ideological-political orientation, is capable of counteracting any opponent of our socialist self-managing society."

"There are a number of arguments which can prove that our society is increasingly more powerful and secure," continued Boro Denkov. "This is by all means a result of the party's great confidence in each working individual, and social institution. At the same time this means that such

confidence is also shared by the Security Service which at one time was almost the only defense mechanism against blunt attacks on our independence but now has grown into a nucleus around which the front of security factors of our society spreads. This open process of democratization of social factors, including state functions, is indicative of the fact that the LCY continues to be a significant internal force capable of successfully confronting external and internal attacks, and preventing the evolution of social relations outside its program and influence. At present we can state freely that democratization increases the confidence in the LC. Our reality, endurance, our continuous strengthening, and our reputation in the world indicate that this is a Marxist, an authentic revolutionary period, and our efforts are the only perspective for all working people, and nations in the world."

In speaking further, Boro Denkov indicated that our current reality speaks of the fact that the connection between the party and the working class is obvious and evident, even now that we have entered deeply into the process of socializing classic state functions such as security, protection and defense. The LC initiated the process of socialization of security functions as well. At present we speak of a new defense and security system for protecting the independence of our country, increasing the protection of the directions in the development of socialist self-management on the broadest democratic basis, with the involvement of all working people and citizens.

After emphasizing that our system of self-defense and the activity of our Security Service are not oriented merely toward the protection of our independence externally, Boro Denkov stressed the consciousness of the working people as the most important factor in strengthening the security and defense of our country.

In this context Denkov referred to the role of the LC and its position with respect to security, i.e., development of the consciousness of the working people and citizens, indicating that the creation of such social conditions in which the individual will feel increasingly as a master of social and socioeconomic relations is an essential component of this process. Under such conditions his consciousness will also become increasingly more developed. For this reason the LC also expanded its spectral activity in all spheres, in all pores of social and economic life. Denkov spoke about a new, modern socialist democratic consciousness on the part of our citizens which generates a rather positive effect on total quality of the development of our society, on labor productivity, strengthening of the defense and self-protection system, and on all qualitative aspects of political and economic life.

After a detailed discussion of individual phenomena and tendencies which have developed during past years, while illustrating the significance of the newly arisen consciousness, Denkov stated that at present, when speaking about the positive political-security situation, one must say

that this is due primarily to the policy of the LC and its more effective implementation in practice, its acceptability to the broad labor strata. This, of course, should not underestimate the place and role of other social factors. Today we have an open process of socialization of security functions in society. Therefore, to the extent to which we make efforts to spread the front, strength and mibility of our system of social self-protection and general people's defense, we--the League of Communists--are and will be making efforts to increase the strength, ideological-political unity, expertise and material security of the Security Service which, after all, remains a front line unit in the struggle for the security and defense of the gains from the revolution.

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CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

NEW WORKING BODIES FORMED IN SLOVENIAN PRESIDENCY

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 7 Jun 78 p 1

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 June--As we have been informed by the Secretariat for Information of the Slovenian Assembly, a meeting of the Slovenian Presidency took place today. The meeting was conducted by Sergej Kraigher, President of the Presidency, with the participation of Milan Kucan, President of the Slovenian Assembly, Anton Vratusa, President of the Slovenian Executive Council, engr. Vitja Rode, Vice-President of the Slovenian Executive Council, and Jernej Jan, President of the Republic Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries.

Today, the Slovenian Presidency familiarized itself with the current work of the Republic Council for International Relations with respect to carrying out the tasks of self-management organizations and groups, state organs, and sociopolitical organizations in bringing about a new international economic order and the implementation of the decisions of the Colombo Conference. The Presidency dealt with proposals concerning directing and the laying the groundwork for meeting the tasks pledged and expressed support for the further activities of the republic council and the appropriate organs and organizations in this field.

The presidency discussed and adopted draft regulations on the composition of its working bodies, the appropriate republic councils and the Slovenian Commission for Awarding Decorations.

The Chairman of the Presidency's Council for National Defense is, by virtue of his position, the President of the Presidency, Sergej Kraigher. Named as chairman of the other working bodies of the presidency were: Anica Kuhar as chairman of the Commission for Pardons, Dr Marjan Breclj as chairman of the Commission for Protection of Constitutionality and Legality and for Implementing Personal and Citizen Freedoms, Rights and Duties, and Ione Bole as chairman of the Commission for Organizational and Personnel Matters. Also the presidency named Vida Tomsic as chairman of the Republic Council for International Relations, Viktor Avbelj as chairman of the Republic Council for the Protection of the Constitutional

Order, and Tone Bole as chairman of the Commission for Awards and Decorations of the Slovenian Socialist Republic.

The presidency also discussed the draft regulations on the work of the Commission for Awards and Decorations of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and the draft agreement on granting SFRY decorations on a republic level.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

STANDARDIZATION LAW EXPECTED TO IMPROVE DEFENSE EFFORT

Belgrade VOJNOTEHNIČKI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian, No 6, Nov-Dec 77 pp 704-708

[Article by Technical Major Stanimir Spasojevic, graduate engineer]

[Text] Legal Regulation of Standardization

The beginnings of standardization in our country do not go back very far. Before the war our industrial production and standardization were underdeveloped. At that time, there were modest attempts at internal standardization, mainly in firms dealing with defense work. Thus, several hundred internal norms were worked out, but there was not a single Yugoslav standard published in any field.

The first organized attempts at standardization began in 1945. It was then that the Economic Committee on Standardization, later the Bureau of Standardization of the Machine Building Council of FNRJ [SFRY], was formed. The first official act on standardization, the "Regulation on Standardization," was published on 29 September 1946, which is when the Federal Commission on Standardization was formed. The first legal regulations in the field of standardization were adopted in 1951, the year "The Regulation Concerning the Yugoslav Standards and Federal Quality and Production Specifications" and "The Regulation on the Organization and Work of the Federal Standardization Committee" were published.

The Law on Yugoslav standards took effect in July 1960, and, with a few changes which were made in 1962, continued in force until the law on Yugoslav standards and product quality norms was published (SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ No 2 of 10 January 1974). This law was the result of coordinating the entire legislature with constitutional amendments. Within the framework of standardization, it also encompassed certain regulations which earlier had been covered by the law on trade and services abroad, the basic law on trade and the comprehensive activity of assigning quality gradings, which had legally been regulated by the regulation on quality grading of products.

Since the question of jurisdiction is primarily an organizational question, the 1960 law did not, in essence, suffer any major changes.

In the postwar period, as a result of the sudden development of industry, the normative standardization acts became the most numerous regulations, and they appeared under such names as standards, technical regulations, technical recommendations, etc. The extremely rapid development of science and technology conditioned the accelerated development of standardization, that is, the establishing and applying of technical regulations based on contemporary scientific and technological achievements, which have been tested in practice. They cover a great many technical parameters for the needs of production, from the minute articles for general consumption to the most complex installations for space technology, work safety, methods for testing certain production materials, quality control of drugs, etc. Practically speaking, there is no area of human endeavor today in which standardization is not present.

Independently of the above-mentioned law there was also a law on technical norms. Both dealt with the same material, and they were placed under various organs' jurisdictions by different regulations which were not bound together into a unified functional system. As a consequence there were certain uncoordinated and overlapping regulations, which was not in keeping with the degree of development of Yugoslav economy in the field of standardization. The law on Yugoslav standards and product quality norms of 1960, as well as the later one in 1970, regulates matters pertaining to Yugoslav standards and contains corresponding material regulations dealing with them, and in this regard limits itself to publishing sublegal regulations. By and large these rules have solved the formal aspects of the problem. However, the essence, which runs the whole gamut of organizational-technical and economic measures, has not been worked out.

The new law on standardization (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 38 of 29 July 1977) is of much broader and more complex significance than the old one. In the new law, standardization is defined as a unified process of standardization which solves all problems in this area: internal, national, as well as international.

Standardization represents an inseparable part of technological processes in this country and in the world at large, and consequently it must be coordinated with the international system of standardization in order to realize the possibilities for furthering international trade in goods and services, international cooperation, intellectual, technological and economic activity. This imperative of the contemporary world found a place for itself in the new law and it enables our economy to join in and to follow contemporary progress, but also to be protected from those negative tendencies which manifest themselves by the choking off of weaker and less-developed countries.

Nowadays all countries, regardless of their development, protect domestic production and regulate imports of products. The imports of poor-quality merchandise and obsolete equipment and technology which are sold at attractive prices are rendered impossible through standardization (as opposed to the classical measures of tariffs and excise taxes). The new law specifies a unified standard for the system and public authorizations for specific areas in the economy. The influences of the various systems of the developed countries are so strong that they can transform a country which lacks clear concepts into an arena for the struggle of their interests. This law renders impossible the development of local interests which are not coordinated with the broader interests of the country as a unified sociopolitical whole.

Of paramount importance is the fact that the law constitutes a single system of technical regulatory acts of standardization: standards, technical norms and quality norms. It has established a place and function in its unified system for each of these areas. Under our conditions there was a problem of branching standards and technical regulations. The borders for this are better defined under the new law, because earlier there had been misunderstandings stemming from different legal interpretations of the same material.

The most numerous acts on standards come from agreements of interested parties, so that socialization of the establishing of standards under law has been literally put into effect. In reality the standard represents a specific act of the self-managing agreement, which confirms certain technical regulations in which producers, consumers, scientific institutions, transportation organizations, organs of the sociopolitical communities and other interested parties participate through a democratic dialog. After it has been adopted, the federation assumes responsibility for its protection and gives the form of a sublegal act.

The technical norms are interventional social acts through which, under certain conditions, certain solutions are imposed. They must always be applied, regardless of the narrow interests of individual parties. These are situations when it is a question of human life and health, national security, danger of economic disorders, etc. This is also true of product quality norms which, unlike the earlier ones, are given the character of interventionist acts. This was necessary in order to achieve synchronized and more efficient efforts toward quality and protection of the consumer, the domestic production and the Yugoslav market.

The earlier law on establishing quality standards excluded the producers, the consumers and the inspection services. The new law opens the possibility of a broader and more organized action on the part of all interested participants. When it is impossible to reach an agreement, and there are valid reasons for changing the quality level of certain products, the social community intervenes by establishing the quality norm. The new law establishes a single system for testing and establishing quality

standards, which can be incorporated into the international system of testing and can thus make possible a mutual recognition of quality standards and a faster trading of merchandise in the international market.

The law on standards, therefore, represents a concept for systematic law, which establishes the framework and the extent for a whole series of solutions based on it, while respecting the interests of all interested entities in our society. It thus acquired a new profile, and it regulates the matters of standardization more thoroughly and efficiently than was the case until now.

A systematic regulation of standardization contributes, to a considerable extent, to orderliness in the unified Yugoslav market, self-managing relations and conditions for a more rapid development of the country.

Military Standardization in New Law on Standardization

The JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] attributes great significance to the legal regulation of standardization, quality and quality standards. These regulations regulate a considerable number of problems in national defense, as elements which strengthen the defense capability of our country. Standardization plays a great role in military preparations of all the branches of industry and health care. This is reflected in the rational use and consumption of raw materials and other materials used in production which, during wartime, will be used to supply the armed forces and the population. Standardization is very important for repairs under wartime conditions, [a problem] which can be solved only through interchangeability of parts. This is accomplished through widespread standardization of all processes in this area -- typification and unification. Our armed forces are among the largest consumers of goods in this country. Because of increased economy and shorter delivery terms, the permanent desire is to have the JUS standards apply wherever possible, while in matters of armaments and military equipment they should be prescribed by military standardization, technical conditions and the Yugoslav army standards, i.e., the standards of national defense.

Several countries have published special laws on military standardization. In our earlier law there was no mention of military standardization. One article empowered the federal secretary for national defense not to apply the JUS standards in the JNA, if there were special reasons for not doing so.

In order to have the interests of national defense represented in certain JUS standards, the Federal Executive Council, at the request of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense], passed the "Decision on Determining Products, Installations and Equipment of Special Significance for National Defense" for whose standards and types the concurrence of the SSNO is necessary (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 59/75).

Representatives from the JNA participated in the process of considering the JUS standards, as members of the expert commissions of the Yugoslav Standardization Institute. In 1976, for example, 47 experts from the JNA participated in groups on mining, metallurgy, construction, chemistry, machine building, electricity, agriculture and forestry, as well as in the group on certification.

The new law also establishes national defense standards for the needs of JNA as well as for specific purposes in territorial defense, civil defense and the services for observation, reporting and alerts, where they are mandatorily applied. The federal secretary for national defense establishes the national defense standards as well as the regulations concerning technical norms, norms on construction quality, production, management and utilization of installations, machinery, equipment, armaments and military equipment.

The national defense standards have the same status and receive the same treatment as the mandatory JUS standards, with the proviso that the Inspection Office of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense supervises their application and the pertinent administrative measures.

Disciplinary measures for infractions in the application of national defense standards are the same as those for JUS standards. A deviation from the regulations on Yugoslav standards, i.e., quality norms in production and imports, when it is a question of products, installations, machinery and equipment which are of special significance for national defense is permitted only with the approval of SSNO.

Consequently, the new law on standardization not only establishes the national defense standards and equates them with the JUS standards; it also gives special consideration to JUS standards, technical norms and quality norms if they pertain to products, installations, machinery and equipment of special significance to national defense. Thus, the new law on standardization saves the military standardization "from anonymity," and makes possible the regulation of certain important questions from this military area, which represents a great contribution to the strengthening of the country's defense capability.

The development of the system of military standardization nowadays, with the present fast development of science and technology, as well as the fast tempo of development and equipping* of contemporary armies with new technological means, makes it impossible to imagine a modern army without an organized development in the area of standardization and related disciplines.

*See author's article in VOJNOTEHNICKI GLASNIK No 3, 1976, for more comprehensive treatment of this topic.

The speed of the contemporary technological processes changes the relative degree of contemporary armaments and military equipment, and demands an ever faster substitution of outdated equipment, methods and procedures.

The contemporary army represents an extremely complex organism, which, in addition to manpower, incorporates an ever-increasing amount of material resources. The Yugoslav People's Army, as a subsystem of our sociopolitical community, is the largest consumer of merchandise from our economy.

The enormous value of the material resources, as well as their complexity and diversity, the need for quick and accurate information regarding their status and the possibility of substitution inevitably imposes a "systematic approach" to dealing with the standardization problems in the JNA.

The nature of all the factors involved demands a solution stemming from the development and viability of an effective unified system of standards and measures in the armed forces. A unified system of standards and measures in the armed forces will represent a subsystem of the nationally independent systems of standards and measures in the country, which must be coordinated with the international system of standards and measures as well as other systems, and which will be adaptable to new situations arising from the development of society and modern technology. What JNA wishes to achieve with this system is the creation of a mechanism that will, through organized and coordinated functioning, secure the necessary quality, reliability and effectiveness in armaments and military equipment, and that will facilitate equipping, command functions and cooperation in war and peace, one that will make possible lower production costs and less expensive utilization, maintenance and storage. The efficient functioning of the unified system will make possible the ultimate goal -- the increase in combat readiness and mobilization capability of the armed forces in the defense of our country.

A meeting on planning the unified system of standards and measures in the armed forces was held in Belgrade in mid-September 1977 to evaluate the results achieved thus far in this area.

Over a hundred experts from the units and institutions of the JNA, associated labor organizations producing military equipment repair facilities, and federal institutions under whose jurisdiction they fall, participated in the meeting.

Material containing the most important elements of the system and a sufficient amount of data and graphs, as well as a handout on the more developed systems of certain armies was prepared for the meeting. Authors of the material were experts from specialized civilian scientific research institutions as well as experts from the JNA. In addition to the basic material, several reports from the areas of economy and associated labor production were submitted, while concrete proposals from a number of participants contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the

many basic questions regarding the functioning of the future unified system of standards and measures in the armed forces. The scientific-expert approach to problem solving has characterized the present work on the project, which analyzes every element in the system and seeks contemporary solutions to the specific problems noted.

In order to successfully develop and implement such a complex system, and fulfill every function, any further work on this project presupposes comprehensive and active cooperation of all military organs, as well as federal institutions under whose jurisdiction this area falls.

It was estimated that the solutions, suggestions and supplements given during the meeting, as well as the adopted conclusions, represent a solid base for further development of the system.

9110

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

ULTRARIGHT WING IN AUSTRALIA DENOUNCED

[Editorial Report] Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian of 15 May 78 on page 2 carries an article by Vjekoslav Krsnik entitled "Anticommunist Hysteria of the Right" in which the ultraright wing of the Australian state of New South Wales is criticized. Krsnik notes that although the Labor Party is in power in this state, the ultraright wing "founded on anticommunist and antisocialist hysteria" is becoming strong in the Liberal Party. He says that although the federal government is disowning this wing and is searching for "new horizons in contemporary international political events" these ultraconservative forces are still strong in Australia and wish to stop such processes. Krsnik denounces the ultraright for using fraud in order to gain control in some branches of the Liberal Party and especially for seeking support among immigrants who are expressly anticommunist. As an example, Krsnik notes the support which the ultraright has given toward the founding of the "Movement for the Liberation of Vietnam from Communism," which was founded by 200 Vietnamese refugees in Australia. He says that the ultraright representative Michael Darby, in a television interview, compared this movement with elements in Australia which act from fascist positions against Socialist Yugoslavia. Krsnik says that in this interview Darby "blatantly offended Yugoslav representation in Australia, by denying that a terrorist organization ever acted on its territory against Yugoslavia" although "the facts speak entirely to the contrary."

CSO: 2800

POLEMICS AIRED ON SECOND EDITION OF KARDELJ'S BOOK

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 78 p 5

[Article by Zivko Gruden: "Enlarged or Revised Edition?"]

[Text] The second edition of Kardelj's study "Directions in the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management," which appeared recently in bookstore windows, was accompanied by a short "Note" in which the publisher states, among other things, that the first edition, printed in a large number of copies, was nonetheless sold out in a very short period of time and that the author has meanwhile prepared a separate treatise to be published abroad in which he has introduced a number of significant additions in almost all parts of the treatise, explaining individual theoretical positions and concepts more carefully and precisely. All of these significant additions, introduced in the second edition with an appropriate restructuring of the text, are related to sections dealing with socioeconomic changes, previous efforts, interests in a self-managing society, Eurocommunism, the ultraleft, the international dimension of the so-called limitation of democratic liberties and rights, and the position and role of leading subjective forces in society.

Upon reading this second edition of Kardelj's study it becomes obvious that there is nothing in the publisher's note which can be criticized (except, perhaps, the lack of a broader explanation) since it expresses, concisely yet truthfully, both the occasion and the motive, as well as the reasons, the character and the scope of the study.

What is the purpose, however, of this note on the "Note"?

It is motivated by the peculiar review of the second edition of Kardelj's study or, more precisely, the peculiar interpretation of the reasons for introducing the additions and their nature, published in the last issue of OKO (Ivo Druzijanic: "Kardelj Without Dogma," OKO No 4, 18 May 1978).

A Peculiar Interpretation

Let us take a look at this interpretation.

The text begins with the observation that Kardelj's study is "once again, one of the most widely read books in the country," that "the second edition, which has just appeared," is experiencing the same fate as the first one, e.i., it is a "true political bestseller." "Is it surprising that Kardelj supplemented the first edition of his current and interesting study with 24 pages of new text?" The author questions, responding immediately: "No, this is not a surprise."

Why is not this surprising? As an answer the author offers his article in OKO in which he also wrote the following, as a reaction to the 'way the commentator of the review START interprets Kardelj': "As they do with everything that surrounds them, people understandably interpret Kardelj's study in different ways which are usually reflective of their interests, viewpoints, aspirations. Therefore it is neither shocking nor accidental that the message of START's commentator also publicizes the remnants of old and newly arisen bourgeois views and minor theories on the current moment and opportunities for political development in Yugoslavia..."

After enumerating the supplemented themes, and citing one of them as an example, the author continues:

"The great debate on Kardelj's book has created a mottled spectrum of opinions and judgments, from prevalent applause to reservations and incomprehension. However, there were also interpretations that distort the positions [taken] in this study. Among those who 'did not understand' this book there were some who 'can in no way understand' either our social reality or its practice. Even a more precise definition of certain concepts will not be helpful to these people, since the essence of this study--originating in our socialist self-managing orientation--is basically identifiable in its first edition as well."

After establishing that the value of ideas, theoretical assumptions, and even practical solutions must be assessed by the extent to which they change the whole of socioeconomic relations in favor of the workers, the author proceeds to the following conclusion, cited in its entirety:

"In the enlarged edition of his study Edvard Kardelj not only declares himself against dogma, but by his own example shatters all dogmas as well. This [contributes] to the most direct strengthening of the practice of critical political behavior based upon the [idea] that everything we do, say, and write [as part of] public social activity can, and when necessary, should, be revised--in the basic interest of the more efficient development of socialist social relations."

Unambiguous Messages

Avoiding contention, we have cited the major portion of the article in OKO, in fact all that was in any fashion and any respect relevant to the assessment of the manner in which the article interprets the reasons for introducing

the additions and their character. Therefore, the cited portions contain a fairly great deal of that which we unambiguously agree with. The problem, however, is in the fact that almost everything we agree with stands in a clear and strong contradiction to the basic theses and messages entwined in the text from the first through the last paragraph, which devoid of the garnish that obscures contradictions read as follows:

1. The second edition of Kardelj's book is a bestseller--because of its enlargement--not because of the study itself, or because the first edition was sold out and the second is the only one on the market, but because of the additions which are, thus, either cardinal or at least extremely intriguing.
2. Kardelj's study provided momentum for such unacceptable "viewpoints and minor theories" that the additions were necessary for this reason as well.
3. Since the "essence of the study is basically identifiable in the first edition as well," meaning that the essence, nature or the core of the first edition can be recognized--indeed, not fully but nevertheless basically--in this second edition, there is no doubt that the changes are radical and that they affect the very essence of the study.
4. By introducing additions in the second edition of the study Kardelj "shatters all dogmas!" But what if by chance he had not enlarged the second edition? What if he had not treated this study in the same way as he has so many of his previous works (which is, after all, done by a number of other authors whose theoretical thought is continuously enriched by the developments of life)? What would then have happened to the dogma? Or, perhaps, to Kardelj? Or, perhaps, to us?
5. Kardelj's action--the enlargement of the second edition of the study--"contributes most directly to the strengthening of the practice of critical political behavior based upon the [idea] that everything we do, say, or write [as part of] public social activity can and, when necessary, should be revised."

So, here we are: Kardelj has revised [his positions]!

Provided he has--there is no cause for alarm. Even if he had done so he would not have shattered "all dogmas," not even a single one, because Kardelj's thought is nondogmatic and antidogmatic, as is his and the LCY's attitude toward all that has been created, achieved, and conceptualized, and, of course, toward its own contribution to this.

The Second Edition--"Something Different"?

Nevertheless, in reading the second edition of Kardelj's study we have noticed enlargements, broader explanations, clarifications, and updatings, but no revisions or deviations related to [positions taken] in the first

edition. After all, Kardelj's study, along with the "Theses," is still the subject of public debate as preparatory material for the 11th Congress of the LCY, and if it had been a matter of changes of such a nature as those described in OKO, would the author and the publisher not have drawn the public's attention to this?

However, up until now no one has noted that in the second edition of his study Kardelj "revises" [his positions]. No one except Ivo Druzijanic in OKO.

Let us conclude: By rejecting as uninformed and incorrect the basic message of the article in OKO--one which states that the second edition of Kardelj's study is "something different,"--we repeat that we nevertheless agree with individual observations [made] in this text. We agree, for example, with the [statement] that "as they do with everything that surrounds them, people understandably interpret Kardelj's study in different ways which are usually reflective of their interests, viewpoints, and aspirations," and occasionally, we would add, their dreams and fantasies as well.

8989

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

MINERS' DELEGATION--The president of the Assembly of Macedonia, Blagoja Taleski, received the delegation of the organizing committee of the 2d Consultation of Yugoslav Miners which will be held shortly in Stip. The delegation was headed by Ing Stojmir Domazetovski, director general of the "Zletovo-Sasa" mine. Teleski was acquainted with the numerous problems which the consultation in the area of mining will comprise. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 May 78 p 3] 8989

CULTURAL RELATIONS HEAD--The president of the Executive Council of the SRM [Socialist Republic of Macedonia], Blagoj Popov, received Matea Matevski, president of the Republic Commission for Cultural Relations Abroad, and president of the Inter-Republic Coordinating Board for Culture and Educational Cooperation with Foreign Countries. Matveski will lead the Yugoslav cultural delegation at the manifestation "Yugoslavia in Honor of Kiril of Salonika," which will be held in Naples and Rome from 16-24 May of this year. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 May 78 p 3] 8989

HYDROMETEOROLOGICAL INSTITUTE DELEGATION--The president of the City Assembly of Skopje, Metodi Antov, received the delegation of the work community of the Republic Hydrometeorological Institute in Skopje which is celebrating the 30th anniversary of its establishment. During the conversation the members of the delegation acquainted President Antov with the results up until now, the achievements, and further development of the institute. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 May 78 p 3] 8989

REPRESENTATIVES OF JUDICATURE ORGANS--Within the frames of Security Week, yesterday in the RSVR [Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs] the secretary of internal affairs, Mirko Bunevski, received representatives of the Republic Judicature Organs. During the conversation on this occasion mention was made of further reinforcement of the activity against negative phenomena and tendencies. The deputy secretary of internal affairs, Evzi Memeti, yesterday received Pioneers from the Pioneer Club "Karpus," while the assistant to the republic secretary, Redzo Ibrahimov, received representatives of the JNA [Yugoslav National Army], RSTO [Republic Headquarters of Territorial Defense], and RSNO [Republic Secretariat for National Defense]. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 May 78 p 3] 8989

INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY--On the occasion of Security Day, Blagoja Teleski and Blagoj Popov each received Mirko Bunevski, republic secretary of internal affairs, with his associates, and carried on an extended conversation. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 May 78 p 3] 8989

GENERALS RECEIVED--On the occasion of Security Day Mirko Bunevski also received generals Lambe Mihajlovski, Boro Causev and Mile Arnautovski. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 May 78 p 3] 8989

ORGANIZING BOARD DELEGATION--The president of the Assembly of the SRM [Socialist Republic of Macedonia], Blagoja Taleski, received a delegation of the organizing board of the "12th Yugoslav Consultation on Quality" which will be held in Ohrid 17-19 May this year. The delegation was also received by the president of the Executive Council of the SRM, Blagoj Popov, and by Dzemail Vejsele, president of the Council of the League of Trade Unions of Macedonia. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 May 78 p 3] 8989

BISHOP, CULTURAL RELATIONS HEAD--The vice president of the Assembly of the SRN, and president of the Republic Commission for Relations with Religious Communities of the SRM, Dr Trajce Grujoski, received the president of the Republic Commission for Cultural Relations Abroad, Matea Matevski, and the bishop for the United States, Canada and Australia, Kiril, who as heads of the Yugoslav cultural delegation and the delegation of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, will visit Italy on the occasion of the manifestation "Yugoslavia in Honor of Kiril of Salonika." [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 May 78 p 3] 8989

HERO OF SOCIALIST WORK--Zagreb, 11 May (TANJUG)--During appropriate ceremony today in Zagreb the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Jakov Blazevic, presented Dr Slavko Komar with the Order of Hero of Socialist Work, ordered by the president of the SFRY, Josip Broz Tito, on the occasion of Komar's 60th year of life and a long revolutionary activity, and for exceptional merit in organization and development of the socialist self-managing society, and a contribution of particular significance for the general development and strengthening of the independence of the SFRY. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 May 78 p 3] 8989

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